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No. 2203



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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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CONTENTS

AFGHANISTAN

Foreign Ministry Protests Secret Visit of U.S. Reporter (KABUL NEW TIMES, 14 Sep 80)	1
Foreign Ministry Denounces Dan Rather 'Crimes' (KABUL NEW TIMES, 18 Sep 80)	3
Moslems, Soviets Celebrate 15th Hejira in Tashkent (Nicolai Obotov; KABUL NEW TIMES, 15 Sep 80)	5
Publication of New Youth Weekly Hailed (KABUL NEW TIMES, 13 Sep 80)	7
Agreement for Soviet Advisors Signed (KABUL NEW TIMES, 22 Sep 80)	8
Volunteers Leave for Battlefield (KABUL NEW TIMES, 18 Sep 80)	9
Balkh Clergy Back Government Policies (KABUL NEW TIMES, 17 Sep 80)	10
Hazaradja Leader Discusses Resistance, Prospects (Said Ali Behishti Interview; MUSLIM NEWS, 5 Sep 80)	11
Rebels Arrested in Herat (KABUL NEW TIMES, 11 Sep 80)	13
Captives of Rebels Freed (KABUL NEW TIMES, 14 Sep 80)	14
Rebels Destroyed in Samangan (KABUL NEW TIMES, 18 Sep 80)	15

Military Cadets Finish Crash Courses (KABUL NEW TIMES, 18 Sep 80)	16
GDR, Yemen Journalists Send Congratulations (KABUL NEW TIMES, 22 Sep 80)	17
Government Promotes Chambers of Commerce (KABUL NEW TIMES, 18 Sep 80)	18
New Martial, Medical Laws Published (KABUL NEW TIMES, 13 Sep 80)	20
Soviet-Supplied Consumer Goods Distributed (KABUL NEW TIMES, 11 Sep 80)	21
Mazar-i Sharif Silo 35 Percent Completed (KABUL NEW TIMES, 22 Sep 80)	22
Displaced Families Return Home (KABUL NEW TIMES, 11 Sep 80)	23
Activists Approve 3rd Plenum Decisions (KABUL NEW TIMES, 14 Sep 80)	24
Briefs	
Bagrami Artillery Exercise	25
Terrorists Arrested in Jalalabad	25
Nomads Return	25
General Qadar to Cuba	25
ALGERIA	
Former French Officer Arrested in Algeria (LE MONDE, 11, 13 Sep 80).....	26
EGYPT	
Reorganization of Customs Administration Outlined (AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI, 14 Jul 80).....	29
Briefs	
New Type of Passport	33
ISRAEL	
West Bank Seen as Strategic Necessity (Yuval Ne'eman; MA'ARAKHOT, May-Jun 80).....	34

KUWAIT

Briefs

Asian Investment Bank	45
Japanese To Build Supertankers	45
Japanese Bond Sale	45
PRC Foreign Trade Minister Interviewed	46

LEBANON

Sulayman Franjiyah Interviewed on Partition of Lebanon, Other Issues (Sulayman Franjiyah Interview; AN-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AD-DUWALI, 29 Sep-5 Oct 80).....	47
---	----

Briefs

Golan Liberation Front Established	50
Students Undergo Military Training	50

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Shift Away From Marxism Seen in Recent Developments (Hazim Saghiyah; AL-SAFIR, 13, 15 Jul 80).....	51
---	----

PERSIAN GULF AREA

'Relief' Felt at Stationing of AWACS in Saudi Arabia (AS-SIYASAH, 2 Oct 80).....	64
---	----

TUNISIA

Mzali Address on End of Parliamentary Year Published (LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE, 30 Jul 80).....	65
--	----

Briefs

House Arrest	72
--------------	----

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Cabinet Approves Press, Publications Draft Law (THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY, 20 Sep 80).....	73
New Phase of Petroleum Exploration Launched (Kamal Mu'ammam Interview; AL-BAYAN, 17 Aug 80).....	74
Abu Dhabi's Oil Exports Decline (AL-BAYAN, 17 Aug 80).....	81
Subsidies Used To Fight Inflated Food Prices (Ali Lashin; AL-BAYAN, 15 Aug 80).....	83

FOREIGN MINISTRY PROTESTS SECRET VISIT OF U.S. REPORTER

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, Sept. 14, (Bakhtar).— The protest note of the DRA Foreign Ministry, addressed to the Embassy of the United States of America in Kabul:

Two members of the counter-revolution mercenary band named Shaiekh Mullah Mir, and Mu-deer Mohammad Gul who have recently been arrested by Afghan authorities testified during an interrogation that late in March of last year a group of American journalists who had entered Afghanistan illegally from Pakistan joined their group.

The American journalists, disguised in national Afghan costumes were carrying along a complete filming unit.

When the journalists were together with the said band the plundering members of the band attacked the Fateh Abad village of Surkhrood, Afghanistan, and captured

three toilers who were engaged in the irrigation project. One of the American journalists instructed the thieves to first severely torture the workers, then stone them and then behead them and of course this tragic scene was filmed by the Americans.

Sometimes later the commentator of CBS television network of America named Dan Razer in an interview with the Christian Science Monitor daily told a story that in late March heading a filming unit he had entered secretly into Afghan territory disguised in national Afghan costume and made a film entitled "The Struggle of Afghans for Freedom". The evidences presented by Dan Razer is the same that have been obtained from the plundering mercenaries.

No doubt, Dan Razer personally took part in the savage torture and killing of three Afghan

workers. As such this bloody murder has been committed on the soil of Afghanistan. There are some witnesses in this connection and the name of one of these murderers is known and he is Dan Razer, the citizen of the United States of America.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan summoned the Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of the United States of America in Kabul to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Sunbula 19, 1359 (September 10, 1980) and handed him over a protest note. In this note the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has lodged a strong protest against the illegal crossing of the Afghanistan's borders by the American nationals which is a violation of the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and their participation in the incidence and killing of three Afghan nationals.

In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has demanded the trial of these criminals and asked the American side to desirably compensate the relatives of the demised persons for the material and moral damages caused.

CSO: 4920

AFGHANISTAN

FOREIGN MINISTRY DENOUNCES DAN RATHER 'CRIMES'

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 18 Sep 80 p 2

[Excerpts]

The protest note handed over by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of the United States of America in Kabul is a manifestation of the interference of US imperialism in the internal affairs of the sovereign, independent and revolutionary Afghanistan. The crimes committed by the American journalists in Afghanistan were a flagrant violation of the national sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Among many examples of US interference in

the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan we can cite the criminal acts committed by an American television unit in one of the villages in the eastern part of Afghanistan. Documents and evidences clearly show that the American television team not only violated the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan but also ordered the murder of two Afghan workers engaged in agricultural extension project in the Fateh Abad village in an attempt to make a sensational television film drawing a false picture of the situation in Afghanistan.

What is seemed more strange is the confession of Dan Razer, the head of CBS television film unit which was made to the Christian Science Monitor daily last March. He admitted that while he and his colleagues were disguised in Afghan costumes they joined an armed rebel band and committed a number of crimes including the tragic murder of two workers. The story told by Dan Razer is quite the same as the testimony made by and the evidences obtained from the two members of a counterrevolutionary band who are arrested by the armed and security forces of Afghanistan.

The tragic murder of the two Afghan workers under the instruction of Dan Razer is remembered by the Fatehabad villagers and the crimes of the American journalists are told here and there.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had every right, on the basis of international norms and clear documents and evidences, to lodge a protest to the government of the United States of America against the crimes committed by the American nationals in the land of revolutionary Afghanistan.

CSO: 4920

MOSLEMS, SOVIETS CELEBRATE 15TH HEJIRA IN TASHKENT

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 15 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Nikolai Obotov]

[Text]

The conference of the Moslems of the USSR, "the 15th century of the Hejira should become a century of peace and friendship among nations," ended its work in Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan.

About 300 persons, including numerous guests from 28 European, Asian and African countries took part in its work.

In the interval between sittings I had the opportunity of speaking with Mufti Zyautdinkhan Ibn Ishan Babakhan, the chairman of the conference's organising committee.

"It seems to me that the theme of the current conference makes clear the aims which its organisers have set themselves," began the head of Moslem board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan. "I must say that the Moslem organisations functioning in the Soviet Union are taking a most

active part in the struggle for peace and friendship among nations.

"To begin with, Soviet Moslems have broad international links and maintain close contacts with their brethren—in faith in almost 80 countries. Every year large delegations of Moslems from other countries come to visit to Soviet Union. And Soviet Moslems make reciprocal visits.

"Representatives of the Soviet Moslem clergy", continued Mufti Babakhan, "take part regularly in international and regional meetings and also in forums sponsored by different organisations that come out for peace and solidarity. Participants of these meetings discuss not only purely religious problems, they are also discussing friendship, among nations, and the conditions in which their brethren—in faith in other countries live.

It gives me pleasure to point out that in the past few years alone Soviet Moslems have held six large international gatherings in which many well-known Moslem leaders and also the editors of Moslem publications in various Asian, African and European countries took part.

"On the initiative of the Moslem clergy a number of international conferences were held in the Soviet Union. Among them was the conference for the defence of the just struggle of the peoples against imperialism and neo-colonialism (1970), the conference in defence of the just struggle of the Arab people against Israeli aggression (1973), scientific conferences on the occasion of 1200th birth anniversary of Imam al-Bukhari (1974) and the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Moslem board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan (1976).

"If you remember, I made the main report at the international conference" religious leaders for a lasting peace, disarmament and just relations among nations, held in Moscow in 1977.

Then I called on the participants of the international Moslem symposium which took place a year ago in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, to make the 15th century of Hejira a century of peace and disarmament.

Believe that each one of these meetings has become an important factor in consolidating the ranks of Moslems and promoting better understanding.

"At present there are functioning in the Soviet Union the Moslem board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan with its centre in Tashkent, the Moslem Board for the European Part of the USSR and Siberia with its centre in UFA, the Moslem board for the northern Caucasus with its centre in Buinaksk and another one with its centre in Baku.

"In their effort to make the greatest possible contribution to the cause of peace and friendship among nations these four Moslem organisations in the Soviet Union are constantly coordinating their activities.

"We, religious figures, who are following the behests of the Holy Ko-

ran should spread the ideas of peace and international friendship and make our contribution to the cause of progress and prosperity so that all people should live in peace, well-being and happiness guided by the principles of goodness and justice. The Holy Koran teaches that the unjust will be punished.

"Celebrating the advent of the 15th century of the Hejira we Soviet Moslems realise that the current international situation imperatively demands a more active struggle on the part of all peace-loving forces, more effective cooperation of all Moslems and all people of goodwill in order to stop the arms race, to achieve detente, to thwart the aggressive actions of imperialist groups and their henchmen.

"I can assure you that Moslems in the Soviet Union and the rest of the world clearly realise that the drive for peace and social justice will be more successful if all people who pursue these goals will unite and expose imperialism, zionism, hegemonism, the enemies of detente and friendship among people".

PUBLICATION OF NEW YOUTH WEEKLY HAILED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Sep 80 p 2

[Excerpt]

The publishing of "Darafshi-Jawanan" as an organ of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Organisation for Afghan Youth is a firm and important step taken towards the enlightenment of the Afghan democratic youths of the country.

In the long history of Afghanistan this is the first time that a periodical is published by the Afghan Democratic Youths for the Afghan youths.

It is in fact the product of the new phase of the glorious revolution, the phase which has brought many changes in different aspects of the life of Afghanistan in the interest of the working people.

The commencement of this weekly periodical is an important event not only in the life of the Democratic Organisation for Afghan Youth

but also the entire people of Afghanistan. The Darafshi-Jawanan which means the banner of youth has been shouldered with very important and formidable responsibility to consolidate Saur Revolution and fortify the foundations laid for establishing a new world for the hard working people of Afghanistan.

We are living at a time when the Saur Revolution and especially its new evolutionary phase, dawned following the heroic uprising of December 27, 1979, has brought great hopes for our people to eradicate illiteracy from Afghanistan, and let our people enjoy the fruit of progressive social and economic services to be rendered in the interest of the masses of workers, peasants and all industrious elements.

AGREEMENT FOR SOVIET ADVISORS SIGNED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 22 Sep 80 p 4

[Text]

KABUL, Sept. 22, (Bakhtar).—The agreement for the employment of experts to design and manage the workshops for the repairing of transportation vehicles of the state sector was signed between the Ministry of Transport and Tourism and the Soviet Company of United Export Import of Prom Mash Export at the Ministry of Transport and Tourism yesterday.

It was signed by the Deputy Minister of Transport and Tourism, Dip. Eng. Ghulam Jailani and Ekaryovich Ginadi Yeginovich, Deputy Economic Counselor of the Soviet Embassy and Victor Botov, representatives of Tekhno Stroy Export and Tekhno Export of Soviet Union to Kabul.

On the basis of this agreement some experts are to come to Afghanistan to gather necessary information for designing and management of the workshops in Kabul, Hairatan port, and Pul-i Khumri to repair transportation vehicles of the state sector.

A source of the Ministry of Transport and Tourism said according to the projected plan two workshops would be constructed in Kabul and Hairatan at the capacity of repairing 25 vehicles at one shift. And another workshop be built in Pul-i Khumri to repair 15 vehicles at one shift.

The ceremony of signing the agreement was also attended by some departmental heads of the Ministry and some members of the Soviet embassy.

VOLUNTEERS LEAVE FOR BATTLEFRONT

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 18 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

GHIAZNI, Sept. 18, (Rakhtar).— In line with great and historical decisions of the PDPA CC 3rd Plenum decisions, large number of activists, members of the Democratic Organisation for the Youth of Andar district, Ghazni province, voluntarily left for the battle front yesterday to crush the rebels, the enemies of our working people and progress of the homeland.

Prior to their departure a number of Andar elders while expounding on the role of the youth and real combatants in safeguarding the honour of the homeland and gains of Saur Revolution said: "having with us such heroes and youth we are confident that we succeed in our just struggle against rebels, the servants of international imperialism, Chinese chauvinism, Pakistani militarists and US world imperialism".

BALKH CLERGY BACK GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 17 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

MAZAR-I-SHARIF, Sept. 17, (Bakhtar).— Religious Scholars, clergymen and members of the Islamic affairs in a meeting held at the governorate yesterday expressed their full support to the new phase of the glorious Saur Revolution and readiness to work for the implementation of public utility programmes chalked out by the DRA government under the leadership of PDPA.

At the meeting held on this occasion a local government cadre spoke on the

lofty objectives of the Saur Revolution and its new evolutionary phase, urging the participants to explain to the people the policy of the revolutionary government based on principles of the Holy religion of Islam and in view of the decisions of the Conference of Religious Scholars and Clergymen of the DRA.

In response Maulavi Mohammad Karim and Maulavi Haji Mahmoud on behalf of the participants expressed every kind of cooperation in this regard.

CSO: 4920

HAZARADJA LEADER DISCUSSES RESISTANCE, PROSPECTS

Capetown MUSLIM NEWS in English 5 Sep 80 p 10

[Interview with Said Ali Behishti, head of Hazara union, by correspondent of MUSLIM NEWS, date and place not given]

[Text]

Fifty-year-old Said Ali Behishti is the leader of the Hazara union — ten parties opposing Barak Karmal and the Russians in the province of Hazaradja. Behishti, with headquarters in the village of Waras, has managed to overcome centuries old rivalries to unite 2 million proud people based in the legendary Afghan hills. The area is lost among towering ranges, and the Russians have blockaded it trying to starve out the population. But the Hazara have held on fiercely to the region, creating a state within a state which, while challenging the Russians today, may one day challenge the Afghan nation itself if their idea of a liberated Afghanistan is not fulfilled. As Behishti makes clear:

'Once we have beaten the Russians, we will set up a genuine Islamic Republic. All will be equal, we will abolish all discrimination, ethnic or religious, even the Hindus will be allowed to practise their faith.'

According to Behishti 34 districts belong to the Hazara union and he was appointed leader by the first assembly. Each district chooses its four representative to a permanent assembly that meets twice a week to discuss routine matters. Five committees: war, economics, law, unions and culture, have been set up by the assembly to administer the region. Behishti explains how the committees work:

'Each committee is headed by a chairman and several assistants.'

'The war committee is led by Hadji Mohammed Hussein. Eleven units of 2000 men are permanently under his orders. It need be the entire population will fight with this army. To back up our voluntary soldiers, we have established compulsory military service, but the duration varies from region to region and according to our needs.'

'We have also restructured taxes and we fix the prices of basic necessities brought in from the cities outside. We have thus managed to avoid rocketing prices.'

'What problems are there as far as the war is concerned?'

'Arms, we lack arms. Nobody helps us out. All we have received from Iran is a small amount of money. We have only about 250 to 300 cartridges per soldier. And to buy these we have often had to sell our possessions or borrow. We have virtually no doctors or drugs for our wounded.'

'And despite this the Russians have been turned back each time.'

'They (the Russians) have never managed to enter Hazaradja. But since the war began, they have killed 50 000 of our people: many women and children.'

'Behishti thinly disguises his disagreement with the groups set up in exile in Pakistan — some he says are CIA-backed.'

'Victory would be easier if all the Afghans returned to fight in Afghanistan, then we would soon throw out the Russians, and chase them back to Moscow.'

'I know very little about the groups set up in Pakistan. As far as ideas go, we think in different ways.'

On the other hand, he has respect for Ayatollah Khomeini:

'Khomeini's revolution was 100 per cent successful. He has laid the path.'

The Hazara mujahideen conduct the war against the Afghan army on the periphery of the province, trying to keep them out, for Hazaradja is 'free'. All the Khalquis (communists) were killed when Jihad was first declared, the tale goes. The army made two or three feeble attempts to regain control. But each time they have been forced to turn back: Hazaradja's vast mountains are no mean opponent.

The population's sole problem has been supplies. Last year, everyone was too involved in the war to think about the fields. Then the Russians set up a blockade of Hazaradja and hunger crept in. But the Hazara soon found a way out. Hundreds of donkey convoys began plying secret paths to the cities: Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar.

And people went back to their fields: men working on small plots clinging to the hillside, their methods unchanged, with sleepy bullocks ploughing the steep fields with small wooden ploughs.

The tranquillity of this setting does not, however, hide the firm resolve of the Hazara. As Behishti's lieutenant, Hadji Nader Ali, who spent five years in prison, since the days of Daoud, says:

'Nothing is worse than selling one's land to the foreigners, as the Khalqui have done. We have the duty to hand our land intact to our children, as our fathers left it to us. This is why we must throw the Russians out. We have no fear of them. Our entire people is committed to the Jihad.'

'Do you know our children's favourite game? They make clay figures of Brezhnev or Karmal, stand them up and stone them to pieces. At four or five, they know already who the enemy is, and that he must die.'

'As to our women, they push us to buy bullets rather than corn. So we will win. Even alone. Because the world knows what is happening in our country, but follows it like a game on television.'

AFGHANISTAN

REBELS ARRESTED IN HERAT

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 11 Sep 80 p 3

[Excerpt] Mazare Sharif, Sept. 11 (Bakhtar)--The Lackeys of international imperialism who are assigned by reaction of the region, in collusion with Chinese hegemonists, led by US imperialism to carry out terroristic and subversive acts will be arrested and punished by security forces, police, party activists with cooperation of people wherever they may hide themselves.

According to a report from Balkh a group of rebels who had hidden themselves in a market here and wanted to disturb the peaceful life and tranquility of people through subversive activity was recently arrested by security forces with the cooperation of noble people here. A number of guns were found with ruffians. Those arrested are under interrogation.

According to another report a group of rebels who were engaged in robberies and plundering the personal effects of travellers on the roads between Chamtal Shulgara-Mazare Sharif have been arrested by security forces of Balkh province and now security is ensured on the said roads.

The robbers who are being interrogated are Hakim, son of Zia, Mohammad Hassan, son of Khan Nazar and Sayyed Jan, son of Nazar Mohammad, residents of Chamtal district.

Similarly, Shah Mohammad, son of Khair Mohammad and Jan Ali, son of Baba Yadgar village who had committed terroristic and criminal acts in Mazare Sharif have been recently arrested and confessed to their shameful and inhumane crimes.

Likewise the brave soldiers and officers of Division 17 of Herat have succeeded in routing a group of rebels who had been disturbing the tranquility of people by terroristic acts in the vicinity of Herat city. Various weapons and thousands of ammunition have been seized from the rebels.

CSO: 4920

CAPTIVES OF REBELS FREED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

JALALABAD, Sept. 14. (Bakhtar).— According to reports from Nangarhar province 170 elders, women and children from Zawah village Nangarhar province, who were imprisoned in stables in Pachir and Agam sub-districts two and a half months ago by the rebels, the murderers and enemies of human beings, without taking into consideration the human dignity, were released by security forces and party members of that province recently soon after they were informed of the inhumane

act of the criminal murderers.

Our oppressed compatriots were welcomed at Nangarhar provincial committee by party and government cadres and some Jalalabad citizens.

A number of tearful women and elders of the oppressed group disclosed the crimes and inhumane acts of the rebels, the functionaries of US world imperialism. They pledged every cooperation and sacrifice in eliminating the ruffians, the servants of US imperialism.

REBELS DESTROYED IN SAMANGAN

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 18 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, Sept. 18, (Bakhtar).— A large group of rebels was destroyed in Khwaja Baghlanak mountains of Samangan province and hundreds of the traitors and lackeys of international imperialism, Chinese Chauvinism and Pakistani militarists operating under direct leadership of US imperialism were arrested recently after armed clashes with armed and security forces and party members with the active participation of the local inhabitants.

Various types of US and Chinese made arms have been captured from the murderers, the enemies of our oppressed Moslem people,

the homeland and Saur Revolution. The culprits are under interrogation.

According to a Bakhtar despatch from Samangan a happy function was held yesterday to mark the triumph of the military forces, the police and party activists against large groups of rebels in that province.

During the function, a number of religious scholars, elders and craftsmen spoke of the sacrifice rendered by the patriots and devotees of Saur Revolution to safeguard the sacred homeland, and gains of the Revolution and wished them further success in wiping out the enemies of our country.

MILITARY CADETS FINISH CRASH COURSES

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 18 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, Sept. 18, (Bakhtar).— Certificates for cadets, graduated from the Military Academy crash courses, were distributed in a ceremony by Maj. Gen. Mohammad Rafiee, DRA Minister of National Defence in a ceremony held at the Academy yesterday.

The function was attended by some Generals and departmental heads of the Ministry of National Defence.

Following recitation of a few verses from the Holy Koran and playing of the national anthem the certificates and gifts were presented to the graduates.

The Minister of National Defence, in a speech drew the attention of the officers

to their grave and heavy duties and wished them successes. He said, "You are graduated at a time when our homeland is in its sensitive historical stage and the armed forces is in need of you young valorous officers."

You are aware that after victory of the Saur revolution especially its new evolutionary phase, the internal and external enemies in an unholy alliance have unleashed vile propaganda and shameless interference against the revolution of Afghanistan."

Similarly, commander and head of political affairs of the Academy delivered speeches.

AFGHANISTAN

GDR, YEMEN JOURNALISTS SEND CONGRATULATIONS

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 22 Sep 80 p 1

[Text] Kabul, Sept. 22 (Bakhtar)--Journalists Union of the German Democratic Republic has sent the following message addressed to Central Council of Journalists Union of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

In the name of the Journalists Union of GDR and on behalf of its 7,000 members, we congratulate the newly established Afghanistan Journalists Union and hope for further victories of the people of Afghanistan in their just struggle for freedom and in serving the people of Afghanistan.

It is a matter of great pleasure for us to welcome you in the family of international progressive journalists and see you alongside the international progressive journalists.

Hoping for freedom and peace in the world, victory over imperialism and hoping for joint efforts and our further consolidation.

Regards,
Chairman of Journalists Union, GDR.

Similarly the Central Council of Journalists Union of the Democratic Republic of Yemen has sent the following message addressed to the Central Council of Journalists Union of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

With great interest we followed the meeting of the constituent congress of Afghan journalists. On behalf of the Journalists Union of Democratic Yemen, we congratulate you on the establishment of your union which will play a prominent role towards the development of journalistic movement and in defending the Afghan revolution.

We are fully confident that consolidation of relations between the journalists unions of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Democratic Republic of Yemen will help achieve the common goals of progressive journalists of the two countries.

Please accept our best wishes and comradely greetings.

General Secretariat, Central Council, Journalists Union of Democratic Republic of Yemen.

GOVERNMENT PROMOTES CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 18 Sep 80 p 3

[Text]

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan as a non-aligned country and on the basis of its peace-loving policy desires to maintain friendly and cordial relations with all countries of the world. Therefore we have maintained commercial relations with most peace-loving countries. At present Afghanistan has contact with various international companies especially those companies which have honest deal with us.

The Chambers of Commerce and Industries has 21 import unions under its frame which undertake their activities on the basis of their charters. These trading unions have agencies in the provinces of Kandahar, Nangarhar, Herat and Balkh. The above was stated by Sarwar Murid, Vice President of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries in an interview published recently in the daily Anis.

When asked about the role of the above trading unions and the responsibility of national traders

with regard to improvement of trade activities in the country, he said the Chambers of Commerce and Industries of Afghanistan as the main centre cooperating honestly with national traders is always ready to solve the problems which may arise in the way of trade activities of national traders. For instance, on the application of national traders and proposal of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries, Ministry of Commerce, the national traders were exempted from the payment of dimurrage for goods which had been pending in the ports. Similarly in order to develop the financial capacity of national traders the organisation reduced the percentage of its commission rates, solving numerous other problems facing national traders and trade companies through Revenue Department of the Ministry of Finance.

Hence the Chambers of Commerce and Industries hopes that all national traders should maintain contacts with various trade

companies through this organisation as it is established for the purpose of helping the national traders. They should avoid individual contact with all foreign companies as under such circumstances the foreign trade companies cannot mislead them such as unnecessary raising of prices, cheating them on the quality of commodities they are offered and pending of offers etc., which may result in bankruptcy of our traders. Besides our national traders ought to avoid importing of unnecessary goods. Instead they should import essential commodities in best quality and reasonable prices from the companies which are honest in their deals.

Similarly the Chambers of Commerce and Industries sincerely wishes that all noble Afghan people cooperate with their national and democratic government. In order to help their national traders and the country's economy they must inform the sources concerned about the smuggled goods which they come across in any part of the country and also avoid purchasing of such items from the market. Moreover they are requested to avoid purchasing of luxury and unnecessary goods and help their national traders in this regard so that they should not place order for such goods which are against their interest and that of their country.

In reply to another question about his assessment of the trade affairs prevailing in Afghanistan prior to the emergence of the glorious Saur Revolution and after the triumph of the Revolution especially after its new evolutionary phase, he said commercial affairs prevailed in the country prior to the launching

of the Saur Revolution was totally unhealthy and unguided. Our national traders used to arrange their affairs without any proper management which resulted in bankruptcy of some of our national traders as the whole thing was in the hand of the despotic governments. In those days national traders had to deal individually with all foreign brokers and compradors.

Fortunately following the triumph of the glorious Saur Revolution and after the commencement of its new phase national and patriotic traders formed their trading unions under the supervision of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries and in this way a national trade spirit emerged in the country and national traders began their routine activities with confidence and without any worries.

In the light of the new evolutionary phase of the revolution and in view of the government policy reflected in the DRA Fundamental Principles protects

and encourages all patriotic and national traders.

The Vice President of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries said that in the light of the above measures the following factors should be taken into consideration as regards proper and purposeful development of trade activities, under the present condition. He suggested that as a first step all national and patriotic traders must strive to develop their trading unions with full unity under the leadership and protection of their democratic government. It is then that they can succeed in their aim. We must cut off the hands of foreign brokers and compradors so that our national traders should be in a position to directly contact the foreign companies with the cooperation of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries. This would help national traders to gain more profit by avoiding payment of commission to the foreign brokers, he added. It would also help them to obtain the best kind of goods in the shortest possible time.

AFGHANISTAN

NEW MARTIAL, MEDICAL LAWS PUBLISHED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Sep 80 p 1

[Text] Kabul, Sept. 13 (Bakhtar)--The Penal Law for crimes against combat preparations of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the regulations for practising medicine in the private clinics have been published in the official gazette and enforced thereof.

A source of the Ministry of Justice said that the Penal Law for crimes against combat preparations of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the regulations for practicing medicine in the private clinics were published in the Official Gazette on Sunbula 15 (September 6, 1980) and went into force on the same date.

The source adds that the Penal Law for the crimes against combat preparations of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been approved by the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of DRA and sanctioned by the President of the RC for the purpose of consolidating the revolutionary lawfulness, legal order and discipline in the Armed Forces of DRA, strengthening struggle against aggressions made against the security of DRA and the struggle against running away from military service.

Likewise, the regulations for practicing medicine in the private clinics has been approved by the Council of Ministers and sanctioned by the President of the DRA Revolutionary Council. The regulation determines the limits of authority, responsibility and the rate of fees of the medical doctors, assistant doctors, stomatologues and assistant stomatologues, dentists who practice medicine after official working hours in their private clinics.

The Penal Law for crimes against combat preparations of the Armed Forces of DRA has 19 articles and the regulation for practicing medicine in the private clinics 30 articles and four charts attached.

The above Penal Law and regulations will be published in the press for the information of dear compatriots according to article 40 of the DRA's Fundamental Principles.

SOVIET-SUPPLIED CONSUMER GOODS DISTRIBUTED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 11 Sep 80 p 4

[Text]

KABUL. Sept. 11, (Bakhtar).— Distribution of Soviet-supplied consumer goods aid continues for deservers in center and provinces.

A large number of workers and employees of Karkar coal mine, working people of Jabul-Seraj, Surkhe Parsa and Kapisa districts workers of Gulbahar Textile Mill, deserving people in Charikar, Parwan province, resistance groups, and police of Laghmani and Bayan of Parwan, students of Administrative Accounting Institute, students of Kabul Mechanical School and Ibni Sina tech-

nicians school received the consumer goods during the week including clothing and various footwear supplied by the Soviet Union.

During the functions held on the occasion in the above places some party and government authorities and a number of recipients while appreciating the friendly Soviet Union's timely aid, spoke on amicable relations and fraternal ties existing between the two friendly countries and wished for further consolidation of the friendly ties between peoples of the two countries.

CSO: 4920

MAZAR-I SHARIF SILO 35 PERCENT COMPLETED

Kabul KABUL TIMES in English 22 Sep 80 p 1

(Text)

MAZAR-I-SHARIF, Sept. 22, (Bakhtar).— The construction work of Mazar-i-Sharif Silo has progressed 35 percent whilst the construction work of its workers residential quarters has advanced 40 percent.

A source of the Food Procurement Department of Balkh province said a group of workers have been absorbed in the project on reasonable salary who enjoy all facilities. The workers render indifatigable services toward construction of the project in the light of the new phase of the glorious Saur Revolution.

The source added the construction work of the Silo project had started at the end of last year whilst the work of its residential quarters began three months ago. The work of the project is going on successfully on the basis of the programme.

DISPLACED FAMILIES RETURN HOME

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 11 Sep 60 p 3

[Text]

ASSADABAD, Sept 11, (Bakhtar)— The working people of Afghanistan who during the reign of Amin the hangman and his fascist band had been compelled to abandon their dwellings with the realistic of their historical mission toward defence of the honours of the country and the gains of the Saur Revolution and by utilising the humanitarian policy of their revolutionary government, return to their homes in different groups, expressing readiness to render revolutionary work for the blossoming of the beloved Afghanistan and routing of the enemies of the Revolution.

In this connection some families belonging to Katar valley and Korbagh village of Dari Parich district, Kunar province who had been forced to quit their houses during the reign of Amin the traitor last Monday returned to their homes amid expression of joy and pleasure and patriotic sentiments for their revolutionary government. They promised every kind of cooperation to their government in a bid to uproot the enemies. Local party members and government officials welcomed the returnees.

ACTIVISTS APPROVE 3RD PLENUM DECISIONS

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 Sep 80 p 1

[Text]

PROVINCES, Sept. 14. (Bakhtar)— To back the historical decisions of PD-PA CC 3rd Plenum meetings were held by cadres and party activists of Ghor province police command, Enjeel District, Herat province, Livestock Company, officers, soldiers and students of Military School. During the meetings a number of participants while speaking on value of the 3rd Plenum decisions, on behalf of others pledged relentless struggle in routing enemies of Saur Revolution.

The meeting ended by issuing of resolutions expressing readiness in translating into action the 3rd Plenum decisions.

Similarly, large number of local working inhabitants of Enjeel and Guzarah districts, Herat province, in a gathering at the governorate hall welcomed the important and constructive decisions of the 3rd Plenum on behalf of the local people they pledged for revolutionary work and struggle in its implementation.

According to another report, the elders from various villages of Pashtoonkot district, Faryab Province in a gathering at the governorate compounds pledged their honest services in flourishing the beloved homeland. They also promised relentless struggle in routing the enemies of the Saur Revolution.

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

BAGRAMI ARTILLERY EXERCISE--Artillery units no. 88 has begun exercises in Bagrami District from September 9 and will continue until September 22, day and night. Kabul citizens and inhabitants of above district should not be worried by the noise. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 11 Sep 80 p 4]

TERRORISTS ARRESTED IN JALALABAD--Jalalabad, Sept. 13 (Bakhtar)--A large number of counterrevolutionary elements who on the instigation of their masters had created disturbances to the local people were recently arrested as a result of the heroic activities of our armed forces at Pachiragan region leaving behind various kinds of weapons made in US and China, consisting of machine-guns, rockets, communications equipment and large quantity of bullets. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Sep 80 p 1]

NOMADS RETURN--Kabul, Sept. 13 (Bakhtar)--A large number of Kochi families (nomad) belonging to Sultan Khail Sharan, Paktika province in pursuance of the decisions of the third PDPA CC Plenum and full confidence for the honest conducts of their revolutionary and progressive government recently returned to their home. According to a Bakhtar report a group of elders of the above region after expression of support for their revolutionary government informed the governorate that they safely returned to their home adding adding that a large number of other families too wanted to return to their beloved homeland but the Pakistani military government creates obstacles for their return. But despite obstacles created in their way the dear compatriots have been trying to return to their homeland in the earliest possible time. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 13 Sep 80 p 1]

GENERAL QADAR TO CUBA--Kabul, Sept. 24 (Bakhtar)--Member of the PDPA CC, RC President left Kabul for Havana yesterday at the invitation of the Communist Party of Cuba to participate at the ceremony commemorating the 20th anniversary of the establishment of resistance groups of Cuba against local and foreign reactionary elements. He was seen off at the Kabul International Airport by some members of the PDPA CC, the RC Presidium, the DRA Council of Ministers, Deputy Chief of Protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Cuban Ambassador. [Text] [Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 24 Sep 80 p 1]

ALGERIA

FORMER FRENCH OFFICER ARRESTED IN ALGERIA

Paris LE MONDE in French 11, 13 Sep 80

[Two-part article by our own correspondent D.J.: "Disappearance of the Head of the Lebanese Shiites--A Former French Officer Imprisoned in Algeria Since August 1979"]

[11 Sep 80, p 42]

[Text] A spokesman of the Libyan "people's bureau" (embassy) in Paris, categorically denied on Tuesday, 9 September, that Imam Moussa Sadr, spiritual leader of the Lebanese Shiite community, who had mysteriously disappeared on 28 August 1978 at the conclusion of a trip to Tripoli, had been kept a prisoner in a Libyan military camp in the proximity of the Algerian border. Repeating an article published on Sunday by the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS, RTL [expansion unknown] had announced on Tuesday that Imam Moussa Sadr had been kidnapped with the help of a former French officer, Major Jean-Jacques Laporte (our last issue dated 10 September). At the same time, it was discovered that the former officer had been imprisoned in Algeria for almost one year and accused of "making an attempt upon the security of the state." Investigations concerning Imam Moussa Sadr had been started again by Teheran, an important personality close to Imam Khomeini having stated that the latter had become aware of some documents according to which the Lebanese religious leader was alive in Libya.

It has been confirmed in French diplomatic and consular circles that a French national, Jean-Jacques Laporte, was imprisoned in Algiers, having been arrested in August 1979 by the military security forces and charged with "attempt upon the security of the state." The French authorities learned of this arrest only at the beginning of 1980 and up to the present time have been unable to exercise their right of visitation, as provided by the consular agreement between the two countries. Algerian officials have not furnished any information as to the motives for this arrest.

Little is known of Laporte, only that he is about 40 years old and was not registered in the French consulate as a resident in Algeria. It seems that he was a former military man, leading an adventurous life whose activities remain mysterious. He had been questioned once before by the Algerian security forces in November 1978, then was set free until he was apprehended again. According to various rumors he was implicated in the Cape Sigli affair, but it is hard to see how. In December 1978 a C-130 airplane, identified by the Algerians as being a Moroccan plane, had dropped several bundles of arms, munitions and explosives by parachute on the Kabyle coast, and they were retrieved a few hours later by the constabulary who had been forewarned by witnesses.

A few days later six arrests had been made among former underground fighters from Willaya 3, native inhabitants from Petite Kabyle. The inquiry had revealed that the head of the "conspirators," a certain Benyahia Mohamed Sadek described as an embittered and temperamental person, had taken advantage of some business trips in Morocco and France to get in touch with the Moroccan intelligence and persuaded them to furnish arms to "kabyle resistance," which existed only in his imagination.

To tell the truth, this rather confusing affair had been widely exploited by the news agencies and had contributed to the organization of the population against outside danger during President Boumediene's illness. Since then no one has heard anymore from the "conspirator" and his accomplices.

Never, at any time, had anyone heard the name of Laporte mentioned in connection with this affair.

It is also difficult to understand why the Libyan intelligence would use a Frenchman who happened to be in Algeria, to kidnap Imam Moussa Sadr while the latter was in Libya at the time of his mysterious disappearance on 28 August 1978 and, according to RTL, confine him in a camp 50 km from the Algerian border.

Anyway, up to the present time the Algerian authorities have not made any comments in regard to these "revelations." However, taking into account the time elapsed since these events took place, one wonders if the stolid silence which surrounds them is still due to the requisites of the inquiry. Whatever the eventual seriousness of the actions with which Laporte is charged, the secrecy in connection with his incarceration maintained for over a year, is regrettable.

[13 Sep 80, p 6]

[Text] Jean Laporte, former officer in the French army implicated, according to information received from Morocco and published by RTL, in the "kidnaping" of Imam Moussa Sadr (LE MONDE 11 September), was arrested by the Algerian intelligence on 2 February 1978 inside the

Aurassi hotel, where a meeting of the "Front de la formite" (the resolute Front) was being held. He was indicted and was issued a warrant for imprisonment.

He was charged with seeking information illegally, in plain language, he was engaged in intelligence activities. He is imprisoned in Blida. This is the only exact information we could find on Thursday, 11 September in Algiers.

In other respects it should be noted here that Laporte, readily called in private "an adventurer," who seemed very familiar with the Arab countries, could not have been involved in the Cape Sigli events since they happened in December 1978, almost one year after his arrest. The same argument can be applied to the disappearance of Imam Moussa Sadr, since it happened in Libya in August 1978.

There is much astonishment in Algiers in regard to this so-called "fantastic" information broadcasted by some of the media in Europe which coincides, as observed here, on the one hand with the meeting in Freetown of the OAU ad hoc committee on the western Sahara question, and on the other, with Libya and Syria's merger, as if the objective sought was to "create problems in the region" and to deal Algeria's credibility a blow by arousing suspicions in a matter in which it is not at all involved.

7993

CSO: 4400

REORGANIZATION OF CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION OUTLINED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 14 Jul 80 pp 16-17

[Article: "Heaven Showers Promotions on Customs Men"]

[Text] The Customs Administration will be reorganized in August, in accordance with the reorganization authorized by the Central Agency for Organization and Administration. This will be accompanied by the biggest promotion movement ever seen in the Customs Administration.

It is expected that the deputy minister of finance, Muhammad 'Abduh, will issue within a few days a decision informing employees of the new organization.

Budget Appropriations

Husayn Amin, undersecretary for customs affairs in the ministry of finance, announced that the appropriations necessary for the promotions included in the reorganization have been made.

The reorganization provides for promoting the head of the Customs Administration to the rank of first undersecretary, after amending republic decree no 557 for 1977.

It also provides for appointing three undersecretaries of the ministry of finance:

The first will be chief of the Cairo and the Southern Region Customs Sector. The second will be chief of the Port Sa'id Region Customs Sector. The third will be chief of the Alexandria and Western Region Customs Sector.

The Customs Administration had proposed that two more undersecretaries be appointed, one for technical affairs and the other for fiscal and administrative affairs, but these were not approved.

Twenty-four General Directors.

The ministry of finance approved 24 positions of general director, whereas Customs had requested 27.

The positions of general director on the basis of which promotion will take place are:

Anti-Smuggling Operations

Organization and Administration

Customs Institute

Security

Legal Affairs and Investigations

Inspection

Information and Enforcement

Prices

Exemptions and Special Regulations

Claims

General Director of Alexandria Customs

General Director of al-Mahmudiyah Customs

Customs for Passengers and Branch Offices

Customs for Tobacco, Exports and Automobiles

Exemptions and (Concessions?) (two positions: Cairo and Alexandria)

Cairo Airport

Cairo Customs and Branches

Free Zone

Port Sa'id and Branches

Suez and Red Sea

Sinai Customs

Fiscal Affairs

Workers' Affairs

The following three positions will be Grade 1 positions occupied by officials having the title of Director General:

The Director of Automated Accounting, and

The Directors of Traffic of Goods and Relinquished Goods in Cairo and Alexandria.

An Abundance of Grade 1 Positions

The agency approved 132 Grade 1 positions distributed as follows:

1. Eight positions within the subgroup of legal employees: Office of Customs Law Research; Office of Legal Opinion and Rulings; Office of Legal Cases; Office of Investigations; Offices of Legal Affairs and Investigations in Cairo, Alexandria and Port Sa'id; First Legal Researcher.
2. One position of Director of Office of Public Relations.
3. Two positions within subgroup of security employees: Individuals and Installations, and Information and Communication.
4. A total of 121 positions within the following subgroups:
 - a. Finance and Accounting: Investigation and Seizure; Anti-Smuggling Operations in Cairo, Alexandria and Port Sa'id (3); Offices of Inspection in Cairo, Alexandria and Port Sa'id (3); Office of Analysis; Office of Tariff Schedules; Examination of Imported and Exported Commodities; Export, Import and Currency Regulations; Customs Regulations; Conferences and Research; Collection and Classification of Commodity Prices; Publication of Prices and Inquiries; General Exemptions in Cairo and Alexandria (2); and Technical Affairs Section.
 - b. One position for each of the following: Office of Free Zones; Provisional Permits; Provisional Clearances; Late Payments; Tariffs; Collection and Enforcement; Special Regulations; Exemptions; Accounting Expertise.
 - c. Three positions for Tariff Affairs, Enforcement and Prices in Cairo, Alexandria and Port Sa'id Special Arrangements.
 - d. Customs Affairs relating to the Port and other organizations in three cities; Affairs of Outlets in Cairo, Alexandria, Suez and the Red Sea; and Postal Packages.
 - e. Six positions for the Customs Office in Alexandria; five for Passenger Customs in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Sa'id, Suez and Sinai; and ten for Customs at al-Sallum al-Sabatiyah, Aswan, Luxor, Port Sa'id, Damietta, Suez, Saffajsh, al-'Arish, and al-Tur.
 - f. Four positions for Automobile Customs at Alexandria, Cairo, Port Sa'id, Suez and the Red Sea.

g. One position each for Lumber, Shipyards and Dry Dock in al-Nubariyah; Office of Inspection of Trade and Supply; Alexandria Port and Airport Tariffs, Enforcement and Provisional Clearance; Tobacco; Exports, Free Zones and Markets; Air Exports; Air Imports; Personal Belongings; Provisional Clearance of Automobiles; Land Exports and Imports; Diplomatic Exemptions; and Free Zones.

h. Five positions for Tariffs and Regulations in the ports of Alexandria, Cairo, Port Sa'id, Suez and Sinai; two positions for (Auxiliary Facilities?); and three positions for Exemptions, Provisional Clearance and Special Regulations in Cairo, Port Sa'id and Sinai.

i. One position each for the following: Free Markets; (Publications?); Chief Traffic Manager; Chief Technical Inspector; Chief Tariff Manager; Imports, Exports and Currency; Free Zone; Free Zone Autos; Goods and Unclaimed Goods in Port Sa'id; Tariffs, Regulations and Exemptions; Fiscal Affairs, Purchases and Stores; Accounting; Budgeting; Expositions.

j. Fifteen positions for the Administrative Development group, distributed as follows: Employee Placement and Work Force Planning; Organization and Work Methods; Training; Customs Institutes in Cairo, Port Sa'id and Alexandria (3); Office of Followup and Supervision; Employment Affairs; Pensions; Fiscal and Administrative Affairs in Cairo, Port Sa'id and Alexandria (3); Office of Fiscal and Administrative Inspection.

k. Four positions for Support Services: Secretariat and Archives; Administrative Services; Records and Files; Termination of Service.

Grade 2

Grade 2 positions were approved for the following in Finance and Accounting: Director of Office of Bills of Lading and Movement of Goods; Office of Physical Plant in Cairo and Alexandria Customs (2); Auctions and Settlement (2); Office of Bills of Lading and Unclaimed Goods in Suez and Alexandria (2); and Administrative Offices (5).

In the Administrative Development groups, the following will be promoted to Grade 2 positions: Director of Manpower Budgeting; Director of Illegal Profiterring; Director of the Treasury; Assistant Accounting Offices; Assistant Archives Offices; Assistant Personnel Offices.

The reorganization provides for Grade 2 positions for the Chief of [Motor Pool] Drivers, the Supervisor of Weights, and the Supervisor of Maintenance.

7587

CSO: 4802

BRIEFS

NEW TYPE OF PASSPORT--Muhammad Nabawi Isma'il, deputy prime minister for services and minister of the interior, met yesterday with Dr 'Abd-al-Zaraq 'Abd-al-Majid, deputy prime minister for economic affairs, to discuss steps to speed up the issuance of the new type of passport, and to make arrangements for the necessary appropriations for this project, so as to put an end to the forgery of Egyptian passports. It was decided that current passports will be valid for 2 more years, or for 7 years rather than 5, until they are replaced by the new passports. [Text] [Cairo AI-AHRAM in Arabic 17 Jul 80 p 1] 7587

CSO: 4802

WEST BANK SEEN AS STRATEGIC NECESSITY

Tel Aviv MA'ARAKHOT in Hebrew May-Jun 80 pp 6-13

[Article by Colonel (Ret.) Professor Yuval Ne'eman: "Samaria--Foundation of Israel's Security"]*

[Text] Thirteen years after the Six-Day War, the terrible vulnerability of the state of Israel within the borders which preceded that war has been forgotten by many. Before the war everyone was aware of Israel's instability and vulnerability along the "slim sections" of the two corridors, the Jerusalem corridor and the coastal one. In 1953 the general staff held discussions attended by the minister of defense, which led to the conclusion that within such borders Israel could not afford a surprise attack, and inasmuch as such an attack became imminent, Israel had to strike first. This is what we did in 1956¹ and in 1967, despite tremendous misgivings. During the 1949 to 1956 period we lived under constant tension, with frequent mobilizations. After 1956, when UN troops were stationed in the Gaza Strip and Sinai, it seemed that we had reached a calm, and Abba Eban even spoke of "the spirit of Tashkent."² The Six-Day War came as a surprise.³ Fortunately Nasser acted slowly, with every move happening not of his own initiative. This enabled us, although we were surprised, to mobilize, deploy, and foil the enemy's plan.

During its 32 years, Israel has experienced many broken cease-fire agreements, corridors which did not last, UN troops which disappeared during crises, and guarantor states which did not honor their guarantees when we needed them. And yet we are going back today to all these arrangements, relinquishing our real positions. This article is not intended to explain the need for the Six-Day War borders in their entirety,⁴ but to emphasize the strategic importance of Samaria.

The Samaria Position--The Vulnerable Heart

Since the inception of the state, the population has been concentrated in the three major cities and in the coastal strip from Gadera to Hadera. The dispersion of the population was always considered of supreme importance in terms of the quality of life and for security reasons.

The existence of a few major centers creates strategic targets for air and ground bombardment, for occupation by ground forces, and even for decision in war. The density of travel in concentrated areas makes it hard to maneuver and supply, especially during mobilization of the reserves and deployment of forces. Under such conditions bombardments acquire greater importance, since they can prevent the mobilization of the IDF as well as the effectuation of its total military potential.

The effort to disperse the population (until 1960) succeeded somewhat in reducing the geographical concentration (a fourth, though somewhat small center was created in Beersheba). Nevertheless, more than two thirds of the population still live in the Jerusalem-Lod-Haifa arc, in a strip of a ten kilometer average width, including 76 percent of Israel's industry workers and 70 percent of its energy production. If we continue this arc to Bayt Sh'an it will include 75 percent of Israel's resources. In effect, the Jewish population is concentrated today in the area of the Jewish settlement (and the JNF lands) of the late years of the British Mandate.

In terms of its fighting potential, the defense of the state is based on mobilization in this area and the transfer of troops to the front. After the mobilization phase, the area (especially the Genera-Hadera zone) becomes a logistic base for the campaigns, wherever they may happen to take place. This area is the heart of the state, also in terms of Israel's ability to act, by pumping blood into its arteries.

For an Arab planner this area, especially the coastal strip, is a prime military target. Vietnam fell when Saigon fell, to cite an example from the recent past (two years after signing a peace treaty accompanied by Nobel prizes). There is a great resemblance between the above described Israeli deployment and the Crusader state, especially during its second stage (1154-1270), which is a cause for grave concern.

The Domination of Samaria

In the center of the vital arc is Samaria. Whoever occupies it threatens internally all the centers of the state. Of course, the force directed against us from Samaria has to secure its flanks. But once it mounts its attack it has no trouble keeping its initiative and winning. Since the area makes it possible to move troops internally from north to south and from east to west, Israel must commit considerable forces to the coast to keep it from being cut off, and to keep the Tel Aviv-Jaffa area, as well as Jerusalem and its corridor, Haifa, and the Valley of Jezreel, from being overrun. Samaria is the classical strategic bridgehead, combining defensive compactness and direct access to all strategic targets. The occupier of this area is like a chess player who is able to threaten with check-queen-pawn. All this, incidentally, also applies to terrorist activities. More on this later.

In the War of Independence we had the advantage of the lack of coordination among the Arab armies, each of which looked for exclusive targets. Today, on the other hand, coordinated and concentrated action could commit 4000 tanks

to Samaria alone (of the 7000 in the eastern front). Such a force could be lined up in depth, with only half of it in Samaria in the initial stage.

The land of Israel has known three historical conquest routes: from Egypt (the sea route), from the north, and from Samaria (used by Joshua). The Book of Joshua provides a detailed script for using Samaria as a bridgehead for attacking all vital areas in the land of Canaan. What took many years in Joshua's day can take a few days when it comes to modern armor.

Israel may be able to mount local counterattacks and to repel the advancing force at certain points, but it will not be able to stop the thrust of the enemy when the latter has the initiative in a zone chosen by the enemy for its main effort. To stop the advance of thousands of tanks a minimal depth of 10-20 kilometers is needed. Suffice it to remember the assault of 1000 Syrian tanks in the Golan Heights, which was stopped by a retreat and delay battle along such depth. On the coast and in Jerusalem there is no such depth, hence a concentrated force of several thousand tanks can reach the seashore, the center of Tel Aviv, and even take Jerusalem. This accounts for the sensitivity of defense in all these sections, and the need to deploy forces to defend all of them.

Mountains have a special value in another respect. The value of observation has not disappeared in modern warfare. On the contrary, with the advance of electronic means and fire ranges, high mountain regions are of decisive value in control (including radar) and communication. Control requires line of sight as well as control intelligence. The use of missiles (of any kind) can be countered if there is a free line of sight. Communications intelligence also requires line of sight.

For example: In the Yom Kippur War, the air force could not stop the advance of the Syrian armor because of the loss of Mount Hermon at the start of the war. The bold, successful Syrian assault affected the potential of the electronic systems which are a must for dealing with missiles along with the air force. The air force had to fight missiles directly, at great cost.

Samaria has complete control over the territory within the green line. The day the autonomy administration, the Palestinian state, or Jordan install suitable antennas (as the Egyptians did the day after they entered El Arish), they will be able to severely curtail our electronic means of communications and control, and to effectively use those means. They will also be able to zero in on us with any kind of weapon and score highly effective hits. While we are there, we control both sides of the Jordan Valley.

The wide-spread argument, according to which "space of no importance in the age of missiles," is a likely story. Somehow both the Americans and the Russians continue to hold on to every electronic base at their disposal, even though they have intelligence, control, and camera-equipped satellites. The reason: a satellite can hold a few instruments, an airplane can hold dozens, yet a ground base can hold thousands!

The Danger of a Strategic Surprise

The aforesaid leads to one essential conclusion: Israel within the green line (in the West Bank) cannot withstand an attack from Samaria. Such attack can result from the following:

a) A strategic attack, such as the Yom Kippur War. Such an attack can succeed not only when enemy armor is positioned in Samaria. Without the IDF occupying the ridges and mountain passes of Samaria, an armor stationed in Jordanian camps east of the Jordan (such as Karama) can reach the hills in a few hours. It can be particularly successful if its entry is assisted by a local or infiltrated irregular force, which will seize key positions in the initial stages. Within 4-6 hours the enemy can threaten Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, the coast or Haifa, and from that moment on it can through direct assault prevent the mobilization of the IDF. As a former intelligence person, I can state that one cannot rely upon an intelligence warning. Such warning can announce the arrival of the forces, but the moment such force is stationed permanently or temporarily near the Jordan (as it did near the border of the Golan Heights and along the Suez Canal in September-October 1973), there is no guarantee that we will know about any plans of attack. Intentions have no intelligence value. One can only list possibilities. Thus, we may mobilize the IDF for a long period and paralyze our economy, and when we finally let the readiness subside the attack will come.

b) A situation may arise in which we are taken by surprise, and yet the political conditions do not enable us to start a preventive attack, which is the only solution under such circumstances. I could fill several volumes of memoirs, not only of the agonizing which preceded the preventive wars of 1956 and 1967, but also the story of attacks which were not authorized, and resulted in permanent losses for Israel. Political conditions, decline in morale, inept leadership, could turn doubt (that perhaps the enemy is not planning to attack after all) into a decisive argument to postpone the decision, even when the military picture is perfectly clear. Even the decisive leadership of Golda Meir ruled out the initiative on the morning of the Yom Kippur War. With the IDF stationed on the borders of the Six-Day War the situation is not fatal. Within the green line the outcome can be catastrophic.

Alternatives to Israeli Control

I would like to discuss each of the claims made by those who suggest that we should give up Samaria.

a) We will not pull out the IDF. Even in the autonomy plan the IDF remains in several bases for five years after the start of the autonomy.

b) We will keep the settlements in the Jordan Valley.

c) We will maintain a fortified line from Jerusalem to Haifa (the Maginot Line idea).

d) Samaria will either be demilitarized or in parts of it limited Arab forces will be allowed. Buffer zones will be manned by an international or an American force.

e) We will improve the warning system, and if threatened we will retake Samaria.

f) A friendly Palestinian state will be established in Samaria.

IDF Bases in the Autonomy

During the first 5 years there will be no significant change in the status of the IDF as a foreign power,⁵ but it should be emphasized that its presence will be temporary. At the end of the 5 year period the IDF is out of the picture in the West Bank, although it is not to be expected that our security problems will have disappeared.

On the face of it there is no difference between the present situation and what will happen during the 5 year period, except for the reduction of force, the limiting of bases to a set number, and the foregoing of our internal security. Yet the Camp David Accord states that these are transitional arrangements for a period not to exceed 5 years (section (A) A1 in the framework accord). One may ask: will we break the agreement and return the IDF full force each time a large concentration will occur east of the Jordan during or after the five year period? One should also take into account the possibility that the administration of the autonomy may declare itself a sovereign Palestinian state even before the 5 years. The UN will no doubt recognize it by an overwhelming majority (even the Europeans will not abstain). Any action on the part of the IDF will then constitute an attack on a sovereign state!

In the Camp David Accords it was agreed that a "strong" Arab police force will be established, which will serve the self-ruling administration in fighting terrorism (this will not be done by the IDF). Such a force can also be a factor in preparing the invasion of the enemy, by seizing key positions for the enemy in the area.

And what about ongoing security? Will we indeed rely on the "strong police force" to do away with the terrorist organizations, or will we continue to retaliate against them in Samaria? Let us not forget that one can return to the green line border within 30 minutes after laying a bomb in Mahane Y'hudah market, in the Carmel market, or on the beach in Natania.

Keeping the Jordan Valley

It is doubtful whether someone will be found who will agree to such a "territorial compromise." The candidate is of course King Hussein; as if we could unreservedly bet on him... The days of royal dynasties in Arab lands are numbered, and whoever relied on the Shah now tends to rely on the Jordanian king. What will happen to the compromise if the Hashemite dynasty collapses after the agreement, once we have given up Samaria?

As for the solution. We saw what happened to the fortifications along the Suez Canal in the Yom Kippur War. The array of settlements in the Jordan Valley has a similar (important in itself) value of local warning. Once the alarm is sounded the settlements cannot stop the onslaught of the penetrating force. True, crossing the Canal the Egyptians did not hasten to capture the Gidi and Mitla passes before we could dig in. The Syrians did a better job in the Golan Heights. It is safe to assume that the Jordanian armor will act as decisively as it did in the past, and will be quick to capture Maale Adumim, Maale Efrayim, and the passes which guarantee control of the hills. It is also certain that the Jordanians will be assisted locally. The valley settlements will be left behind like the Suez fortifications, since they cannot prevent the capturing of Samaria by Arab armies. It should be pointed out that in terms of time and space such penetration, initiated at existing bases in Jordan will only take 3-4 hours. Inasmuch as Israel is taken by surprise, the penetration will succeed even if it takes a whole day. It is to be expected that the Iraqi army will be stationed in Jordan and ready to join forces (which won't be the first time. Israel has already gotten used to the presence of Syrian troops in Lebanon).

Demilitarization, Buffer Zones, International force, Third Party Guarantees, and Justified Causes for an Israeli Attack

Here are some examples from distant and recent history of the state of Israel relative to the above.

War of Independence: on 10 June 1948 the first truce went into effect. Within 24 hours the Egyptians broke the truce, seized positions along the Ashk'lon-Hebron line and cut off the Negev. Israel complained, but did not resume the fighting. On 10 July 1948 the first truce ended at 10:00. The Egyptian army attacked Beit Daras on July 8 at 20:00. On 19 July 1948 the IDF took Kartia and gained access to the Negev. The second truce went into effect on 20 July. A day later the Egyptians returned and deployed in the area and cut off the Negev again. Israel had to start its campaign again to liberate the Negev in October. Israel found at the time an excuse for new attack (Egyptian attack on a convoy to the Negev), but today such an excuse cannot be used. The media would refute it before the convoy went out.

1948-1956: We did not react to the Syrian occupation of Hamat Gader (in the demilitarized zone) in 1950. Nor did we react to the presence of Egyptian force in the demilitarized zone near Nitzana. Toward the end of 1955 we took an Egyptian force out of the Israeli side of the demilitarized zone in Nitzana (Sabha), after a long series of reprisals.

Tiran Straits, 1967: the 14 powers which guaranteed free navigation in the straits kept quiet when Egypt blockaded them in 1967. France, who headed the guarantors in 1956, said in 1967 that we did not have a legal claim to Elat... In the end Israel reacted and went to war, but who will guarantee that the circumstances will repeat themselves, in which the composition of the government will change, public pressure will increase and sympathy for us will grow on the part of the United States?

Moving the missiles in 1970: this was the worst of all the incidents. On 10 August 1970 the ceasefire and the freezing of the front went into effect (viz., partial demilitarization). Within 30 hours the Egyptians advanced their missiles toward the Canal. Israel complained to the guarantor (the U.S.), who eventually recognized the veracity of the complaint. Nevertheless, we did not resume the military campaign. Instead, we received at the time the first half a billion dollars and used it for welfare after the Panthers demonstration. Soon after the Egyptians beefed up the SA-2s and SA-3s and added the mobile SA-6s, which together formed an awesome and unprecedented wall of missiles. The fiasco of the Yom Kippur War was a direct result, since in all of the IDF's plans the air force could not do its job since the missiles covered the crossing!

The violation of the demilitarization in 1970 (typical salami method--see above regarding 1948) accounts for the heavy losses in the Yom Kippur War and the political defeat, despite the IDF's victory in the field...

Three causes of the defeat: losses of human life, the successful Egyptian crossing of the Canal, and the "overrunning of the Bar Lev Line." All of this created the impression in the world of an Arab victory. The fact is, the war ended without our being able to uproot the Egyptian bridgeheads east of the Suez.

The War of Attrition against the bridgehead in "Goshen": In December 1973, the Egyptians violated the 22 October 1973 ceasefire, infiltrated sniper units, and started a war of attrition east of the Canal. Israel did not retaliate. According to one testimony the minister of defense wanted to renew the fighting, but his intention was foiled by the regional commander.

The Peace Treaty with Egypt and the Disappearance of the International Force

We have just signed a peace treaty with Egypt. The treaty includes demilitarization arrangements and prevention of Egyptian penetration of the evacuated area by a UN controlled buffer zone. If the UN did not approve it, the introduction of another international force would follow. The guarantor--the President of the United States--made this commitment in a written document. When the time came for us to withdraw, it became clear that the U.S. was not going to honor its commitment. We did not postpone our withdrawal because of the collapse of the arrangement, despite sharp words from the foreign minister. Yet again, it was proven that we cannot base our security on demilitarization or on guarantees.

Reading the history books shows then that no demilitarization is kept! By using the "salami method" the "honest" party can swallow the whole cow and get used to a new and more dangerous situation. As for Samaria--if we add to these givens the preparatory role which the Arab population and the "strong police force" can play, then demilitarization has no meaning, and guarantees even less.

The Wall of China or a Maginot Line

This is a concrete technical possibility, but anyone who feels the economical and regional hardships which were caused by the withdrawal from Sinai (a third airfield at Israel's expense, a base, roads etc.) can imagine what will happen if we have to turn the coast into a fortress. The IDF will have to constantly mobilize; and in time the long line and the enemy operating internally will be our undoing.

Recapturing Samaria in Case of Danger

We have already considered the possibility of surprise and the absence of warning, and the difficulty in starting a deliberate war under certain political conditions. We have shown that even when there is a formal justification, such as the moving of the missiles, facts are accepted and decisions are postponed. We have also discussed the impracticality of breaking the agreement on our part as a result of any change in the deployment of forces in the eastern front. As for warning, there is no way of warning about the intentions of the enemy. Once its forces are deployed in the area--which is already the case--we cannot benefit from warning. How, for example, could the Arabs warn about the Suez Campaign or the Six-Day War when the Israeli decision was reached only 48 hours before the attack?

Will the Intention to Destroy Us Disappear?

Some say that there is a trend to accept our existence, even on the part of the PLO, and that peaceful relations will exist between us and a Palestinian state. There is no other way of reacting to such prognosis than calling it a dream. At a time when the hostility of militant Islam toward us is increasing, when Arafat and Khomeini keep declaring their total agreement in their outlook, it is strange to think of a change of attitude of Palestinians toward us. We should also take into account the fact that the Arab world includes a Kaddafi and an Assad, and that there are those in Lybia and in Iraq who stir up trouble constantly, knowing that the distance from Israel protects them from our wrath in case of a blowup. To this we must add the Soviet Union. Even the extreme doves admit that the USSR has embarked on the road of expansionism. Our situation in the next decade will grow worse at a time when the U.S. is looking for a foothold in the Arab world, in order to make sure it is not ejected from this part of the world. It has been written⁶ how Washington has assumed the role formerly played by Gamal Abdul Nasser, and in the past decade by the Soviet Union of using the Palestinian problem to unify the Arabs behind it. Under such conditions it is certain that the enthusiasm of the PLO will not subside, nor will its hopes to destroy Israel disappear.

Israeli Sovereignty

Samaria is the most central part of Israel, the place of our most ancient capitals--Sh'hem and Shiloh. During the First Commonwealth it was the heart of the country, the land of the tribes of Joseph and the house of Ephraim.

The ruins of Samaria remind us of the ancient kingdom of Israel. The names of the villages and the ruins everywhere evoke the memory of Israel living on its land.

Security analysis shows that there is no escape from our continued presence in Samaria. We have the choice--will we stay there as an occupying army, or as a people living in its own land? Instead of seeing Samaria as a frontier for safeguarding the centers of the state, we will look upon it as an Israeli patrimony worthy of love, safeguarding and protecting from any aggressor. The presence of an occupation army demoralizes our people; protecting the homeland strengthens his spirit. Many of the crises of the last decade have been the result of our lack of determination to fulfill the Zionist vision both in Samaria and Judea. The 1948 state is not a goal in itself--the goal is Zionism, and the state is the tool.

I am not entering into an ideological analysis. Suffice it to take a look at the map to understand that the 1948 state was geographically unhealthy, and that it is vital to correct this by settling the center of Israel with a dense Jewish population. The argument concerning "densely populated Arab areas" voiced by those who oppose the settlements is based on a wrong impression. One may drive along the longitudinal roads in Samaria to see how sparse the Arab population is. Bet El and Ramallah are on the same longitude, as are Jenin and Hadera. Between those two lines there are two million Jews living within a strip of 15 kilometers, with less than half a million Arabs in a section 35 kilometers wide. A robust planning of population dispersion would transfer one million Jews from the coast to the hill. There is hardly an area of life quality and security in Israel (including matters of the nuclear age!) which will not benefit from it. As of this writing the settlement format invented by Gush Emunim was replicated for the outposts in the Galilee. It turns out that for each dwelling unit there are four candidate families. Such settlement has undoubtedly great possibilities.

Much has been written about the legal aspects. Only Pakistan and Great Britain recognized Jordanian rule in the West Bank during the 19 years of Jordanian occupation. We are the ones who accepted the UN partition plan, while the Arab states turned it down and invaded us in order to destroy the state of Israel in its inception. The Palestinians receive their national rights in Jordan, which was created by the partition of the land of Israel during the British Mandate in 1922.

The introduction of Israeli sovereignty does not require granting Israeli citizenship to the Arab residents of Judea and Samaria. It is common practice in democratic states to grant full citizenship to a person who, after a trial period, is willing to pledge allegiance to the state, and be tested on the history, language and culture of that nation. If any of the residents of the territories are willing to identify with the Zionist state of Israel, to be tested in Hebrew and Zionism, to serve in the army and pay taxes, they should be granted Israeli citizenship. If there will be those who are willing to live under Israeli rule but refuse to identify with the state of Israel and serve in the army, they should be granted resident status, which provides all the rights except for political rights. It is to be assumed that this is

what the majority will choose (as can be seen in the case of the Arab population of Jerusalem, which to this day has not taken advantage of its right to Israeli citizenship). If there will be those among the Arabs who will refuse to live under Israeli rule, they have the option which the Jews of Algeria chose. Jews had lived in Algeria even before the Islamic conquest and yet, when Algeria became an Arab state they left it voluntarily. Incidentally, part of the Arab population (350-400 thousand in the West Bank and Gaza) has refugee passports. Those are the Arab refugees whose refugee state was perpetuated by the Arab countries so that they may come back and demand Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Lod, Ramle etc. Eventually they will have to find a permanent home (this was also agreed in the Camp David Accords). Such a home could not be here, and as we have absorbed the Jews from Arab lands, the Arab countries will have to absorb the refugees. In the meantime their status certainly does not require that we grant them political rights.

Even if we evacuate Judea, Samaria and Gaza and a Palestinian state is established, the refugees will remain in their camps, and will help the Arab point an accusing finger at us, as has happened when we left Kuneitra in the Golan Heights. Their destination will continue to be Jaffa and Haifa. The only difference will be that as soon as they resume the acts of terrorism (which will be immediately!) we will have to engage in dangerous and ineffectual reprisals, whereas now we simply arrest the terrorists on the spot.

In a television program, filmed in the Gaza Strip in February 1980, the local residents voiced the fear that Egyptian workers may enter Israel who work for low wages. Wouldn't a million Egyptian workers threaten the Zionist social structure? Such demographic problems are not mentioned by those who would give up Judea and Samaria, while supporting peace with Egypt.

Summary

We have proved that giving up Samaria makes Israel indefensible in case of a surprise attack or an open attack which cannot be countered by a preventive attack. We have also shown that there is no substitute for Israeli rule, and if so--sovereignty in the area is preferable.

In 1971, a giant booster costing 400 million dollars was developed at the Fermi Laboratory in Chicago (the largest in the world). My friend the physicist Robert Wilson, the laboratory director, was invited to testify before Congress on the importance of this booster. One of the sympathetic senators asked a lead question: "Is the booster important for the defense of the U.S. and does it insure developing defense measures?" To which my friend responded: "Mr Senator, this booster is one of the things which make the U.S. worthy of defense." The same applies to Samaria. Keeping it is vital for Israel's defense, but it is also worthy of occupying a central place in the rebuilding of Israel, the security of which we are insuring.

FOOTNOTES

¹The Sinai Campaign took place in the Sinai against Egypt, but at the time Israel faced a threat from the West Bank border when Jordan joined the Syrian-Egyptian alliance on October 25, 1956.

²The place where India and Pakistan signed a peace treaty. Since that treaty they have fought another terrible war, in which Pakistan lost half of its territory.

³At that time top leaders of the defense system said that there was not going to be a war in the next ten years, as Dayan said later in 1973.

⁴See my article in Ma'ariv on June 18, 1967.

⁵Like the British who remained at the Suez Canal several years after Egypt became independent and were thrown out in 1954.

⁶See my series of articles in Ma'ariv, January 1980.

*This article only reflects the views of the author. The editors consider this article a continuation of the open discussion on the subject of Israel's secure borders, which was dealt with recently in this forum by Major General (Ret.) Aaron Yariv in his article "Strategic Depth--An Israeli View (MA'ARAKHOT 270-21).

9565

CSO: 4805

BRIEFS

ASIAN INVESTMENT BANK--Kuwaiti Banks, the International Investment Company and the Social Insurance Institute will establish "the Bank of Kuwait and Asia." It will have a capital of \$50 million, 25 percent of which have already been paid in. The new bank will be 100 percent Kuwaiti-owned, and will be headquartered in Bahrain, as an exempt foreign financial institution. The purpose of the bank is to coordinate the activity of Kuwaiti financial institutions in the countries of East and Southeast Asia, such as Japan, Australia, Singapore and Hong Kong, as studies indicate that growth was formed after the participating parties saw a need to diversify Kuwait's foreign investments in both the public and private sectors by seeking new areas. It was noted that Kuwaiti investments in East and Southeast Asia were not well distributed, especially as the government tends to always invest in Europe. The new bank will be a link between East Asian and Gulf countries through money exchange transactions, commercial exchange and direct investment. The reason the Kuwaiti shareholders chose Bahrain as their headquarters is that it is now regarded as a financial center for Gulf area banks. The new bank will have branches in Tokyo, Australia, Singapore and Hong Kong. [Excerpts] [Kuwait AL-HADAF in Arabic 26 Jun 80 p 6] 9455

JAPANESE TO BUILD SUPERTANKERS--The Kuwait Oil Tanker Company [KOTC] yesterday [9 July] signed an agreement with the Japanese company I.H.E. to build 2 giant tankers, each with a capacity of 290,000 metric tons. Both tankers will cost 170 million dollars. The agreement was signed by Mr Faysal Thanyan al-Ghanim, chairman of the board of KOTC and Mr Khalid al-Madaf, director general of operations of KOTC, in the presence of Shaykh 'Ali Jabir al-'Ali al-Sabah, member of the board of directors of the Kuwait National Petroleum Company [KNPC]. In a statement to the Kuwait News Agency following the signing ceremony, Mr al-Ghanim said that KOTC has a contract with another Japanese company to build 4 other ships to be delivered by the end of next year. In answer to a question about the slump in the petroleum tankers markets, Mr al-Ghanim said that these contracts for the sale of Kuwaiti petroleum obligate buyers to use domestic tankers. [Excerpts] [Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 10 Jul 80 p 15] 9455

JAPANESE BOND SALE--The Japanese company, Ito Yukado, sold 5 billion yens (\$25 million) worth of convertible bonds with a 10-year maturity. This is the

first transaction of its kind in the Middle East. The Kuwait Investment Company [KIC] arranged the issuance of these bonds together with the Japanese Bonds Syndicate, (Numura). A large percentage of these bonds was sold in Kuwait. These bonds are considered unique, because they can be directly converted into [stock] ownership of the issuing Japanese company, which owns a large chain of commercial stores in Japan. Japanese companies usually issue this type of bonds in Europe, especially for West German marks, Swiss francs and other major European currencies. The Middle East area was not a main center for Japanese companies to seek such investment funds, especially in Japanese currency. Western investment experts say that the recent tendency of the Japanese government to issue bonds in the Middle East aims at soaking up Arab monetary surpluses and utilizing them to pay large Japanese petroleum import bills. Financial experts say that the issuance of these bonds may be a sign of increasing Japanese interest in the Middle East as a source of investment funds in Japanese currency, so as to diversify and turn away from the weak American dollar as a source of investment funds. Ito Yukado bonds yield an annual interest rate of 7.3 percent. [Excerpts] [Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 10 Jul 80 p 14] 9455

PRC FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER INTERVIEWED--Kuwait, 4 Oct (KUNA)--The Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang arrived here Saturday leading a trade delegation on a four-day official visit to Kuwait. He was received on arrival by the Minister of Commerce and Industry Iabd al-Wahab Yousuf an-Nafisi. The visiting minister told KUNA that he would discuss with an-Nafisi the possibility of establishing joint ventures in the field of chemical industry. He will also discuss with other Kuwaiti officials sales of oil to his country saying that China will submit a purchase order for one million tons of Kuwaiti crude per year. The minister expressed satisfaction over development of trade relations between China and Kuwait and said that these relations had developed remarkably in the recent years on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. He added that exchange of visits and frank viewpoints on bilateral relations would also push forward the wheel of understanding between the peoples of the two countries. [Text] [LD041320 Kuwait KUNA in English 1149 GMT 4 Oct 80]

CSO: 4820

LEBANON

SULAYMAN FRANJIYAH INTERVIEWED ON PARTITION OF LEBANON, OTHER ISSUES

LD021055 Paris AN-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AD-DUWALI in Arabic 29 Sep-5 Oct 80
pp 10-2

[Interview with Sulayman Franjiyah, former Lebanese president by 'Isa Makhluf; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] They [not further identified] are using the subjects of partition [of Lebanon] and settlement [of the Palestinians in Lebanon] as a general slogan. Can you define to us your attitude toward these two matters?

[Answer] I say and repeat that there is an Israeli-American scheme whose aim is to partition Lebanon. By partition I mean the establishment of a Christian state on a part of the Lebanese territory. What remains of this territory would be left to our brother Muslims by virtue of their overwhelming majority. In such an event, there would no longer be any objection to the settlement of the Palestinians in Lebanon. The only one to gain from this scheme would be Israel because all the demands for the return of the West Bank and Gaza sector would then disappear. The quarter that is trying to implement this scheme is the Phalangist Party which sought to establish itself as the only ruling party in the Lebanese republic. But when it failed in its quest the Phalangist Party was content with a small section of the Lebanese territory and left the other parts for the Palestinians and whoever wishes to remain on Lebanese territory. That is, briefly, the purpose of partition and settlement.

In addition to this, there is an idea which might be impossible to implement internationally. It takes the form of the occupation of a section of the Lebanese territory in the south for a long time during which the inhabitants would be made to emigrate so that that section could then be given as a state to the Palestinians.

[Question] Some believe that partition is nothing more than a distraction process to enable the implementation of the "Camp David" policy. Others believe that serious attempts are being made to impose partition as a fact and a reality. What is your opinion?

[Answer] The scheme to settle the Palestinians in Lebanon had been endorsed and attempts had been made to implement it before "Camp David." At that time and in the wake of the shuttle visits that the U.S. secretary of state made to the Arab area, it was decided to make the Christians emigrate from Lebanon and to leave the whole of Lebanon to the rest of its people and the Palestinians. However, that plan failed, thanks to the Lebanese steadfastness against it. I hope that the fate of the settlement of the Palestinians in Lebanon will be the same as the fate of the partition scheme--utter failure.

[Question] Some say that one of the important reasons for the assassination of Tony Franjiah was his being the most likely candidate to succeed President Ilyas Sarkis?

[Answer] Since every Lebanese maronite has this right [the right to become president], I would not be surprised if it is said that Tony Franjiah was assassinated for this reason. However, it is a fact that his assassination was not based on a plan against him but on an international plan aimed at dividing the Christians in Lebanon so that when a new scheme against Lebanon is to be implemented, the Christians would not be united to defend their homeland. Regrettably, this plan has succeeded.

[Question] Among the many plans being propounded, there is a plan for setting up cantons in Lebanon. What is your attitude toward this plan?

[Answer] I was asked the same question a long time ago and I answered it by saying that the term "cantons" was based on the saying that "everything that is foreign is good." Why call them cantons? Lebanon is divided into five provinces and this is the term we adhere to. Lebanon cannot be better divided administratively than it is today. If the officials are to do something useful, then they should give powers to these provinces to make them administratively independent of the capital. I repeat, administratively.

[Question] In other words, you support administrative decentralization?

[Answer] Administrative decentralization in order to facilitate the citizens' business. What is done by the director general could be done by the governor; what is done by the head of a department in Beirut can be done by the head of a similar department in the province having the same capabilities.

[Question] Will this not lead to political decentralization?

[Answer] There is no objection to political decentralization in the future if the administrative experiment succeeds.

[Question] Your security plan for the widespread deployment of the army is regarded as a change of attitude. What is the new formula for the army to impose its control over the country?

[Answer] The army will not be able to implement any plan as long as the present man is its commander. The malady lies in the identity of the man at the top.

[Question] The "Free Lebanese Agency," which speaks in your name, has opened a dialogue with a number of political personalities like Raymond Iddih, Rashid Karami, Fu'ad Lahhud and Walid Junblatt some of whom have called for the establishment of a comprehensive national front under your leadership. What would be the front's comprehensive plan should the front be established?

[Answer] There is no drawn-up plan for this front. There is only one aim which is known to everybody: we want Lebanon to be as it was before 1975--fraternal coexistence among all the Lebanese. This is our only aim. We consider everyone who believes in this as a member of this group.

[Question] Some Lebanese sides have proposed that Lebanon join the Syrian-Libyan unity. What is your stand on this?

[Answer] The Syrian-Libyan unity is only a few days old. Let us wait. If it turns out to be good for the two countries, then we would consider whether it is possible for us to join it.

[Question] In your comments on Prince Fahd's declaration of a Jihad, you said: "Let him draw his sword and march in front of the Mjhaahidin because if he does not implement this declaration, history's judgement of him will be very harsh." Do you expect this declaration to be carried out?

[Answer] The day the declaration was made, I had great confidence that the declaration will be carried out on the morrow. But today, after the declaration has been made conditional upon international attitudes, I no longer expect it to be implemented, especially since one of the conditions is to wait for the attitude of the European states. I repeat--and history has taught us--that he who calls for Jihad must march in front of the men.

[Question] It is being reiterated that there is a possibility that Israel will occupy the south. What is your opinion?

[Answer] I am not surprised. When the partition plan fails completely, I do not exclude this possibility.

CSO: 4802

LEBANON

BRIEFS

GOLAN LIBERATION FRONT ESTABLISHED--A new organization called "The Golan Liberation Organization" has been established in Beirut. It includes fighting elements from various Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian groups. The new organization will be proclaimed soon after it executes a mission or a big military operation against Israel or the forces supporting Israel in Lebanon, Europe or the United States. AL-'ASR has learned that the new organization meets wide-scale support from the Syrian authorities and the Palestinian resistance and is qualified to absorb all small pro-Syrian organizations within its ranks and action. [Text] [NC261813 Nicosia AL-'ASR in Arabic 26 Sep 80 p 7]

STUDENTS UNDERGO MILITARY TRAINING--The number of Palestinian students who have been subject to the military training decision in Lebanon is 30,000. Their training has been confined to the current summer season and is in accordance with the decision for general mobilization of the Palestinian forces announced by Abu 'Ammar [PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat] to deal with the developments in the situation in Lebanon. [Text] [LD011311 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 27 Sep-3 Oct 80 p 10]

CSO/ 4802

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

SHIFT AWAY FROM MARXISM SEEN IN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 13, 15 Jul 80

[Article by Hazim Saghiyah: "Directions Taken By the Power Struggle in Democratic Yemen"]

[13 Jul 80 p 14]

[Text] The National Front and the Long Road to Power

Usually the struggle for power in the progressive countries is presented as being one of two things--either an imperialist plot or a communist plot.

Democratic Yemen is one country whose politics and affairs have been surrounded, to an exceptional degree, by an air of vagueness and mystery which both its friends and enemies, to an equal degree, have participated in creating. For this reason, whenever this country undergoes an internal change at the higher levels of government or in the main guidelines of its policies, this change is interpreted as being either an imperialist or a communist plot.

During the recent months, Aden has witnessed a number of changes. The former president, Salim Rubay' 'Ali (Salimin), was removed in the course of a bloody power struggle which victimized the president himself. After that, 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il was removed as president of the nation and secretary of the ruling party, and was made "chairman of the party." Finally, outside the confines of the power struggle, President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's trip to Saudi Arabia and some of the Gulf countries provided new grounds for speculation.

The following is an attempt, claiming to possess some degree of objectivity, to make some observations about the nature of the power struggle which has been taking place in Democratic Yemen.

South Yemen, like most fragmented and dominated countries, was no exception to the prevailing pattern of contrasts within its society. As a result

of Aden's economic development under British rule, particularly the employment opportunities which were provided by the oil refineries, port, and British military bases, thousands of tribesmen from Northern Yemen and the rural areas of South Yemen streamed into Aden. This gradually undermined the economic base of these other areas.

The number of Northern Yemenis alone, living in Aden, rose from 25,000 in 1951 to 100,000 in 1965. Most of them were unskilled laborers who maintained their traditional ties to North Yemen and viewed Aden's prosperity with misgivings and resentment. In this sense, the budding feeling of Yemeni unity which these people had, and which was adopted by the Nasirite trend and the Arab nationalist movement, was not separate from the struggle between the rural areas and the more fortunate urban area. This became particularly the case because the British rulers strove to aggravate these contrasting trends in the rural-urban relationship.

Later on, a Yemeni scholar wrote that public education, which was available to very few, "was reserved for those who had Adenese birth certificates. The result of this was that people from the rural areas of South Yemen and from North Yemen, who worked in Aden, were deprived of education." The same thing was true with regard to political rights. In the elections which the British held in 1959, for example, only the 21,500 Adenese, out of a total of 180,000 (which included the non-Adenese inhabitants of South Yemen as well as North Yemenis living in Aden), were allowed to vote.

The Desire to Achieve Power

This system of relationships aggravated the struggle for power and increasingly associated it with illegality. This was taking place in a general climate of rising Arab nationalism represented by Nasirism.

As for "Aden" itself, its political feelings had already been growing and was characterized by hostility to the rural areas. The slogan "Aden for the Adenese" was coined by the first Adenese political movement, the Aden Association. It was led by Muhammad 'Ali Luqman, along with some of the capital city's merchants and "old established families" who dominated the commercial sector through alliances with the British rulers and with some foreign families, particularly those from Asia, who were living in the capital city. But those among the Adenese who were members of the working class maintained their civic "integrity" by participating in patriotic action. During the period of the struggle for independence, most of them took sides with the Liberation Front which was apart from the National Front. The latter, as a workers' organization, also sought to attract non-Adenese workers living in Aden.

Almost the same thing applies to the eastern half of Democratic Yemen, that is, the area around the Hadramaut valley, where the Arab nationalist movement and the National Front movement did not show any particular growth. Hadramaut (especially through its port at al-Mukalla) experienced a relatively "capitalist" development which contributed toward the rise of

political feelings of the Adenese. It seems that Hadramaut emigres, who had brought back the first seeds of "political awareness" from Indonesia and Britain, did not go beyond calling for the independence of Hadramaut. In this respect, they were doing what their Adenese peers did when they coined the slogan "Aden for the Adenese."

At the same time, there were stirrings among the people in the rural areas and small towns of the western half of South Yemen in response to economic and political isolation. In this context, there arose in Lahij in (1951?) the South Arabian League which was led by some of the commercial elements in the rural areas and small towns, in addition to a small number of sultans and princes who were grumbling about the fact that the British were allowing them less and less participation in government. They "found in Muhammad 'Ali al-Jifri, the chief judge of Lahij and a graduate of al-Azhar University, a figurehead leader for the League's party. They also found in the Sultan of Lahij at that time, 'Ali 'Abd al-Karim, their behind-the-scenes leader."

Hostility to the British

This political group, originating in the rural areas and small towns of the western half of South Yemen, constituted the first nucleus of people hostile to the British. At that time, it included some personalities who were engaging in patriotic activity such as 'Abdallah al-Asnaj, and 'Abdallah Badhib, who later joined a communist movement which was not destined to grow.

The "policy" of the rural areas and small towns of the western part of South Yemen was more "unionist." The South Arabian League called for Yemeni unity, allied itself with Nasir's Egypt, and benefited from both the aid from Egypt and its alliance with the Imam of North Yemen in its confrontation with the sultans who were more submissive to British rule.

The Adenese alliance with British imperialism, and the attempt by the Adenese to expand their partnership with British imperialism at the expense of the rural areas, small towns, and their ruling sultans, succeeded in assuming a legal political framework, and in stripping their opponents of any shred of legality.

The interesting thing is that the British set up the South Arabian Federation in the western half of what is known today as Democratic Yemen. This is where the illegal opposition movement represented by the South Arabian League was concentrated. It was characterized by a greater degree of underdevelopment than the eastern half of the country centering around Hadramaut. The original nucleus of the the Federation was Bayhan, al-Dali', al-Fadli, al-'Awdhali, Lower Yafa', and Upper 'Awlaqi. This area was where the British received both their warmest support and fiercest opposition. Both the support and opposition--in spite of the gap between them--were a result of the same underdevelopment. Dathinah and Yafa', for example, witnessed a series of tribal rebellions against their sultans and rulers.

This was something which the British scholar, Fred Halliday, attributed to the "existence of remnants of primitive communistic and Carmathian beliefs."

Arab Nationalism and Marxism

The matter does not end here. It is from precisely this (western) area, especially the small towns and surrounding areas in Bayhan, al-'Awlaqi, Dathinah, (Abyan), Yafa', and Lahij, that the Arab nationalist movement drew its strength. And it was from this area that the National Front got most of its leaders and rank-and-file. The ties that these people had with the city of Aden were very casual or shallow. Some of them were students who had studied in Aden, such as Muhammad 'Ali Haytham and 'Ali Salim al-(Bayd), or were labor-union leaders of non-Adenese origin such as 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, Mahmud 'Ushaysh, and Muhammad Salih al-'Awlaqi. The National Front inherited the rural-urban struggle and added to it its most radical tool for seizing power--Arab nationalism followed by Marxism-Leninism. This way, the National Front was able to storm onto the stage of political power play, which had been beyond its traditional reach.

'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il was born in al-Tawahi in Aden, but he is from a peasant family whose origins go back to North Yemen. He worked in a British oil refinery till 1962. After that he spent a year in the teaching profession. Salim Rubay' 'Ali was from the village of al-'Ihali in the province of (Abyan). He served in the Hadramaut Bedouin Legion established by the British. He also worked as a tribal "judge" who solved conflicts among the peasants and bedouins. This earned him the "political qualities" which he maintained until he was killed.

'Ali Nasir is from the Hasaniyah tribe in the province of (Abyan). He worked as an elementary school teacher, and then he became the principal of a small school. He was able to achieve this, because, in spite of his peasant origins, he had managed to study in a teachers' training institute and graduate from it in 1959. Things were much the same for Muhammad 'Ali Haytham, a member of the Dathinah tribe in the third border province, who worked as a teacher. Salih Muslih and 'Ali Salim al-Bayd are from (Abyan), whereas Salih Muti's origins go back to Yafa'. As for 'Ali 'Antar, his background is definitely a tribal one, and goes back to al-Dali', where the northern and southern tribes meet in the two northern provinces of Ibb and Rida'.

In their political activity, these personalities belonged to two labor unions in Aden. Their experience was limited to the milieu of laborers who came from North Yemen and from the rural areas of South Yemen, as in the case of 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, Mahmud 'Ushaysh, Muhammad Salih 'Awlaqi, and Ahmad al-Sha'ir, and to the milieu of militants and freedom-fighters from the rural areas, as in the case of 'Ali Nasir, who worked against the sultans in Bayhan, Rubay' 'Ali, who led the (Dufau) uprising, and 'Ali 'Antar, who fought on many fronts in the countryside.

The City Takes a Moderate Position!

The rural and regional origins of these people, in addition to their status, combined to keep this group of people outside the framework of political legitimacy, or the framework of successful moderate activity permissible to an opposition. Their social standing was unlike that of the other political leaders, be they the rival leaders of the Liberation Front or the leaders of the right wing which was removed from the National Front in 1969.

'Abdallah al-Asna) does not share with the leftist members of the National Front their marginal and obscure social position. He was both a political and labor-union leader. Between 1951 and 1962, he worked as an official of the Aden Airlines Co., and eventually became the secretary-general of the Labor Union Congress. He founded and led the Socialist People's Party, which was an organization representing a political compromise between labor union reformists. With this as a base, he promoted meaningful ties with the British Labor Party. 'Abd al-Qawi Makkawi is a lawyer whose origins go back to Upper Sharihah, and is from Aden's middle class. He was the head of a company in Eritrea and in Aden. He was also the leader of the parliamentary opposition to British rule. In March of 1965, and on the basis of a compromise agreement which was not destined to last for long, he managed to occupy the post of head of the government.

The origins of Qahtan and Paysal al-Sha'bi go back to a middle-class family in Lahij. In the fifties, the former was employed as head of the Land Registry Department, whereas the latter was the secretary of the minister of trade in the government of the South Arabian Federation.

The Countryside Besieges the City

Another thing which blocked access to positions of power for those who later on became the leaders of the National Front was the average age of those leaders. Al-Makkawi was born in 1918 and Qahtan al-Sha'bi was born in 1920, whereas (Salimin), the oldest member of the generation of leftists, was born in 1935. 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il and 'Ali Nasir were born in 1939, and Muhammad 'Ali Haytham is only in his middle forties.

Furthermore, it could be said that the generation of leftists first became interested in political activity when changes in the Arab world were taking place in the middle fifties, especially when the Suez Canal was nationalized. Their pan-Arab consciousness was one of the elements which enabled them to storm positions of power from outside. This was unlike the method used by people in the generation of al-Makkawi and al-Sha'bi, who had begun their political life when the British colonial administration was trying to modernize its version of colonial rule and to expand its social base.

Similarly, one could say that independence was achieved because of the fact that South Yemen's rural areas gradually besieged the city of Aden. The revolution began in the Radfan Mountains in the heart of the western

half of South Yemen. In spite of the fact that the National Front occupied the Kraytir area [of the city of Aden] for 20 days on the eve of its victory, the decisive factor in its victory was the fact that it liberated al-Dali', Yafa', al-'Awadhil, Dathinah, (Abyan), and Ja'ar. This led to the isolation of al-'Awaliq, Bayhan, and al-Wahidi from Aden, and this is what cemented the Liberation Front's victory later on. It should also be pointed out that Kraytir and al-Shaykh 'Uthman were the two areas of Aden which were densely settled by migrant laborers from North Yemen who came to work in Aden.

Significance of the Beginning of the Struggle

Although the removal of Qahtan al-Sha'bi from the National Front is considered to be a principal event in the history of this struggle, the first step in the purging of the National Front actually began during the first two years of the armed conflict. This first step was the removal of some of the prominent tribal leaders, who, at the beginning, had joined the National Front, such as Salih Ibn 'Awwas al-Hawshabi and 'Abdallah al-Maj'ali.

By means of this step, the National Front demonstrated that it was not merely part of a legacy of hostility to Aden. It was also demonstrating that it was a "modern" organization capable of taking over the reins of power in the post-colonial period of the strength of broad-based ideology.

However, the post-independence conflict with the right wing of the Front, represented by the family bloc led by Qahtan and 'Abd al-Latif al-Sha'bi, had more significance and complexity. The most important points of friction between the Front's left wing and Qahtan al-Sha'bi revolved around the problem of controlling the army. This was something that the minister of the interior, Muhammad 'Ali al-Haytham, had demanded.

Solution of this problem would have far-reaching results. In the final analysis, it would affect the economic program which the new country was going to adopt. It was in this context that the Front's fourth congress was held in Zanjibar in March of 1968. At this congress, the leftist majority was able to come out with some radical resolutions which soon enabled the leftists to fortify themselves in their confrontation with Qahtan al-Sha'bi. In any case, victory in the congress did not mean victory on the governmental level. High-ranking officers promptly carried out a military coup on 20 March, led by Husayn 'Ashal and 'Ali 'Abdallah Maysiri. As a result of this coup the cadres and leaders of the left wing of the National Front were arrested.

The people's demonstrations which were organized by elements on the Front, on the one hand, and the pro-Saudi leanings of high-ranking officers, on the other, forced Qahtan al-Sha'bi, who desired to maintain good relations with Cairo, to disassociate himself from those who carried out the coup. He took advantage of the growing balance of power within the country and consolidated his hold on the reins of government. This he was able to do by arresting some members of the military and by removing, from the

government and from sensitive positions, the leftist elements which he had been forced to set free. The response of the leftists was to organize and lead a series of rural revolts, the most important of which was the revolt in the province of (Abyan) which was led by (Salimin). At the same time, there were numerous attempted coups which were supported by the Saudi regime.

The Saudi Danger

Faced with the aggravation of the "Saudi danger," 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, the leftist leader who had just returned from Bulgaria (where he had gone after Qahtan al-Sha'bi had removed him from the government), suggested arriving at a compromise with al-Sha'bi to make South Yemen immune to the dangers posed by the Saudi threat and to regulate South Yemen's internal power struggle.

The result was a compromise which allowed the leftists to achieve some degree of presence in the government. Some of the agreements reached in the bargain were: the appointment of political commissars in all army units, strengthening the National Front's militia, and the formation of the National Guard.

The Front was able to purge its ideological base and to practice restraint in its quest for power. But it was not able to establish itself within the spinal chord of the power structure, so as to be able to compete with Qahtan al-Sha'bi where it counted most. However, al-Sha'bi's alliance with some high-ranking officers and with remnants of the old regime began to disintegrate as the role of the Saudis surfaced. The National Front managed to consolidate its alliance with the lower-ranking officers. Muhammad 'Ali Haytham played a pivotal role in this regard through his influence with the officers of Dathinah, his native region.

Thus, on the eve of al-Sha'bi's removal from power, it appeared that the contest was between two forces. There was Qahtan al-Sha'bi, together with remnants of the military "right wing," against an alliance of the low-ranking officers, the People's Guard, and the guerrilla fighters who had acquired increasing influence through their role in warding off hostile military action Saudi political efforts.

In June of 1969, the climate was right for the downfall of Qahtan al-Sha'bi.

[15 Jul 80 p 13]

[Text] The Authority of the Ideological Textbook and the Beginnings of "Revisionism"

'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, as a person and as a leader, was an example of the weakness of the ideology which invaded the "society" of South Yemen without taking into account its special circumstances. All other figures involved in the power struggle (Qahtan al-Sha'bi, al-Haytham, Salimin, and perhaps also 'Antar and Nasir Muhammad) had a plan for government less bound to

ideology and were in closer touch with the "reality" of South Yemen than is 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, who is from North Yemen.

In the climate of consecration of the "socialist experiment" in Democratic Yemen, it is possible for the textbook of socialist ideology, which is imposed from the top, to bestow disproportionate importance upon those of South Yemeni descent who have firmer ties to the land where the "socialist paradise" is being built.

These [Southern] symbols played bigger roles than 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il--who is the symbol of "ideological ambition"--in the two processes of achieving power and maintaining it. In the end, these symbols were closer to the spirit of the countryside and to the war which it waged, leading to the siege and fall of the city of Aden, where 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il was doing his fighting as part of a labor union movement. The latter had tried to bestow an exaggerated urban character upon the war of independence in South Yemen.

One of the first victories achieved by the National Front was 'Ali 'Antar's conquest of the region of al-Dali' and his capture of its ruling prince. When Egyptian aid stopped coming to this Front, contributions from the people of the two provinces of Ibb and Rida' in North Yemen made up for it. Tribes in these provinces are related to 'Ali 'Antar's tribe in al-Dali'. Since December 1969, 'Ali 'Antar has been called commander of the Yemeni armed forces. This has enabled him to dominate most of the key positions in the power apparatus.

(Salimin) also operated in the rural areas and led the revolution in Radfan, in addition to leading the takeover of the Kraytir area in the city of Aden. (Salimin) and Muhammad 'Ali al-Haytham were instrumental in overthrowing Qahtan al-Sha'bi, whereas 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, during most of the conflict, was with Qahtan al-Sha'bi in Bulgaria.

When al-Haytham was removed, the decisive role was played by 'Ali Nasir. And when (Salimin) was eliminated, it was 'Ali 'Antar who played the decisive role. In other words, the "ideological approach" was unable to find tribal or regional support, nor was it able, as we shall see, to seize control of the army--the nerve center of power.

An overall view of the conflict suggests that, in the final analysis, the idea of socialist "purity" was developing on unsteady foundations. It had started among some of Aden's labor unions (which, in any case, are composed mostly of non-Adenese). These unions inevitably ended up in an alliance with the security apparatus which was overseen by Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah, generally known as "Muhsin." If the level of economic and social development of a country like Russia did not preclude dependence upon people like Beria to build socialism--a socialism which had its share of severe coercion, what would building socialism be like in a country such as South Yemen, which has no economic base?

Elements having good socialist intentions, which aim to change the course of history by grabbing it by the neck, allied themselves with a security apparatus which, coupled its severity (in dealing with difficulties caused by the reality of the country's social situation) with true loyalty to "the interests of the revolution."

It appears that the party elite, which came to be almost totally dependent on the security apparatus, began to be incompatible with both the government bureaucracy and the army which wanted development to take place with less supervision and fewer ideological hurdles.

Alliance Between the Party and the Security Apparatus

It may be that the ideological self-delusion of those in the alliance between the party and the security apparatus, represented by 'Abd al-Fattah Ima'il and Muhsin, led them to think = trying one last time to secure key positions of power, especially in the army, since they had achieved so many victories previously.

This is indicated by some newspaper reports which were written before the resignation of 'Abd al-Fattah Ima'il. The Lebanese newspaper AL-NAHAR had the following to say: "What happened in Yemen is an internal problem which, since 1979, had begun to develop over the issue of 'Muhsin,' who wanted to consolidate his hold over the armed forces. 'Abd al-Fattah Ima'il had appointed him as Minister of State Security. He wanted to impose his control over the military intelligence apparatus which, at that time was under the minister of defense, 'Ali 'Antar, an old friend of 'Abd al-Fattah Ima'il. 'Ali 'Antar strongly objected to the demands of 'Muhsin'. In the end, 'Ali 'Antar achieved something of a victory, when the minister of the state security was dismissed. He was replaced by a committee formed under the chairmanship of 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, the head of the government.

"The winners in this confrontation (the stage for which was set at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party during the first half of August 1979) were 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and 'Ali 'Antar."

One weekly magazine which did not contradict the opinion of AL-NAHAR said that the results of the conflict were as follows:

"'Ali Nasir was able to achieve:

1. The removal of Muhsin as minister of state security, and the formation of a collective committee to decide security questions.
2. The consolidation of 'Ali 'Antar's position in the ministry of defense.
3. The promotions of Muhammad Salih 'Huti' and 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Abd al-Wali.

"'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il was able to achieve:

1. The calling of an extraordinary session concerning 'strengthening the leading role of the party.'
2. The appointment of Lt Col Ahmad Salim 'Ubayd, a member of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, as head of the political office in the ministry of defense."

It is said that 'Ali 'Antar reluctantly agreed to this appointment of Lt Col 'Ubayd. It is also said that the Soviet Union, along with some of the communist parties in the eastern part of the Arab world, tried to mediate the conflict, but that the two sides rejected this mediation on the grounds that the problem was a domestic one, and that it amounted to no more than some grumbling by 'Ali Nasir, 'Ali 'Antar, 'Muti', and 'Abd al-Wali about "excesses" committed by 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il and Nuhsin.

In any case, many analyses were offered to explain the "resignation" of 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il. On 22 April 1980, for example, the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-SIYASAH said that 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il had offered his resignation at the end of last February, but that he had been asked to postpone it until the party congress could be held. Another story was that 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il would not have met with defeat in the party, were it not for the intervention of forces which were closer to, and had more influence on, the real sources of power. These prevented a number of members of the Central Committee from attending the decisive meeting.

Regional Factors

The important thing is that developments in the region, starting last year, began to gradually make things difficult for the Yemeni "abnormality."

The Iranian revolution revived Saudi Arabia's plan to shift the American presence to the Gulf region. Iran under the shah, had been a strong and successful competitor, in fact more successful than Saudi Arabia, [in confining American interest to Iran].

Also, the escalation of events in Afghanistan (a situation which became very grave recently due to the Soviet military intervention) led the Moslem countries to impose tight isolation around the small republic which had previously been condemned for favoring non-Arab and non-Moslem Ethiopia over Arab and Moslem Somalia and Eritrea.

Perhaps it became too difficult to reconcile a policy of pure [Socialist] principles with a very complicated real world. Riyadh had previously invited 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il twice to visit Saudi Arabia, but both times the visit was postponed. Information (probably inflated) began to leak about the existence of Soviet bases in Democratic Yemen and the presence of Yemeni troops in Afghanistan!

The treaty which Yemen signed in the latter part of 1979 with the Soviet Union was by way of necessary precaution against any conflict with the Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia. In this context, it may be appropriate to wonder what effect the news of the military facilities, granted to America in the ports of Mombasa, Berbera, and Masirah, might have on "trial and error" men such as 'Ali Nasir and 'Ali 'Antar, who are not much in favor of engaging in open confrontations with their [Northern] Yemeni and other conservative neighbors. Developments such as these are likely to raise serious questions concerning the regime's stability, or perhaps even its existence, at a time when turbulence is the order of the day. Maybe it was chiefly due to this feeling that South Yemen sent Salim Salih Muhammad, the minister of foreign affairs, on a visit to Saudi Arabia last March--a month before 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il's "resignation."

The important thing is that Isma'il's "resignation" was accompanied by a large-scale effort to improve relations with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries. The most eloquent evidence of this effort was the trip undertaken by the head of the government, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. Its results were described as "very positive," at a time when 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il was embarking upon a "convalescence journey" to the Soviet Union.

In any case, on the day after 'Ali Nasir Muhammad began his trip to Saudi Arabia, the minister of defense, 'Ali 'Antar, arrived in Aden, having returned from Moscow where he had held "very successful military talks" with the Soviets. It was also announced that 'Ali Nasir Muhammad would make a trip to Eastern Europe after finishing his trip to the Gulf area. Many interpretations have been made by commentators concerning such a trip to Eastern Europe at the heels of the resignation of 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il. Some characterized it as an effort to achieve a balance in Soviet-Arab relations. But other commentators portrayed it as an indication that South Yemen was adopting a formula which has become all too familiar in some of the countries of the Third World. This consists of maintaining friendship with the Soviet Union, while, at the same time, dishing out harsh treatment to those inside the country who are pro-Soviet.

The Pattern

Sometimes it seems that "Marxism" in Aden may end up following a pattern which was followed by "Arab nationalism" there. This pattern was one of gradual disintegration following near success in efforts to get closer to the reins of power.

The short time period (4 years) it took the Yemeni revolution to triumph, coupled with the late birth of the Marxist left wing of the National Front (1968), were among the factors which naturally led to the adoption of Marxism as an experiment in government whose results could not be foretold. Thus, those who "became Marxists" filled the same cup, which they had used to drink juice of Arab nationalism, with juice of Marxism-Leninism.

Perhaps this explains the remarkable shift from left to right, even in the direction of positions taken by Saudi Arabia (al-Haytham, for example), as a result of the difficulties of putting Marxism into practice and of achieving development under South Yemen's conditions of poverty, underdevelopment and total lack of revenue-producing resources.

Has the cycle of extremism come to an end, through the liquidation of Qahtan and Faysal al-Sha'bi, Muhammad 'Ali al-Haytham, and Salim Rubay' 'Ali, preparatory to gradual reversal dictated by the fact that extremism has now become incompatible with the requirements of holding onto the reins of power?

Developments like these are not exclusively characteristic of the "Marxism" of South Yemen, as opposed to other countries of the Third World. But they have been more striking in this country which is fragmented, extremely poor, and far away from the Soviet Union.

After the National Front seized power, the struggle for power was influenced by factors attributable to the fact that ideology had been superimposed on reality. But after this had happened, it became quite feasible for a somewhat ordinary person who did not possess any exceptional qualities, to announce from his position in the army or in the government a new direction, based on providing more "democracy" at home and more "equilibrium" in regional and international relations.

It is known about the present head of government, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, that he is well built and quite "realistic." As an administrator and an executive, he has succeeded in bringing a relative degree of organization to the government administration, in spite of South Yemen's lack of qualified personnel. He also managed to (advocate?) economic flexibility in an environment of inflexibility in a country which had suffered from poverty, war, the emigration of proficient manpower, and the closing of the Suez Canal.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad has been credited with a number of early "realistic" steps which he managed to take even within the framework of a generally "irrational" policy. He was the architect of rapprochement with Kuwait. His name is the one associated with the 1974 5-year development plan--which aimed at building an infrastructure for the South Yemeni economy. And he is the one who participated so effectively in the negotiations which, in March of 1976, led to the normalization of relations with Saudi Arabia.

On the other hand, it appears that the amount of authority, which was concentrated in the hands of the army, had begun to infringe upon the system of the hierarchy of authority dictated by the establishment of the Socialist Party. 'Ali 'Antar, the army man, is now described as effectively the number two man in the country, although he is still merely a candidate for membership of the party's politburo. Seen in this light, it is possible that 'Ali 'Antar has become the man who makes the final decisions.

Did these apprehensions haunt 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il when both he and 'Ali Nasir, on 26 October 1978, were named brigadier generals in the army in honor of their great contribution to the national struggle?

It appears that, in the case of South Yemeni politics, facts cannot be discovered right away. It will probably be a long time before we have got a clear picture of the dimensions of the revision which is likely to take place in South Yemen because of the alliance between the army and the government administration.

But the fact remains that it is urgent for us to know, as soon as possible, what the extent will be of the change which may take place regarding South Yemen's policy toward the Arab countries and its role in the Steadfastness and Controntation Front.

If we put aside the question of "Yemeni unity", it appears that the regime in South Yemen succeeded to a great extent throughout the past 13 years in shutting off the interest of Arab countries in South Yemen, except with regard to pure strategic considerations, particularly the location of South Yemen at Bab el Mandeb.

Perhaps the expectation is legitimate that South Yemen's revisionism will reach the point where this detached view of South Yemen's strategic location will be completely changed by a South Yemeni open-door policy towards the Arab world. This is something which could take place in the near future or during the next few months. In case it does happen, it would be a positive development in South Yemen's situation.

9468

CSO: 4802

PERSIAN GULF AREA

'RELIEF' FELT AT STATIONING OF AWACS IN SAUDI ARABIA

LEJ061001 Kuwait AS-SIYASAH in Arabic 2 Oct 80 pp 1, 17

(unattributed report: "Gulf Economic Circles Feel Relief")

[Text] The immediate reaction among the Gulf economic circles yesterday to the decision to send four U.S. AWACS aircraft to be stationed in the Saudi Arabian Kingdom's eastern province in order to protect the oilfields was a one of relief. In response to telephone contacts by AS-SIYASAH with several Gulf economic circles, these circles expressed the view that strengthening Saudi Arabia's defense capability with this type of sophisticated aircraft eliminates the feeling that their oil is endangered. Such feeling causes anxiety not only among the countries and peoples of the area but also among peoples and countries of the whole world and could lead to the major powers intervening in the area militarily, which intervention is rejected by all.

The economic circles, which feel relieved, are convinced that it would not have been easy for the countries of the area to obtain such aircraft whether individually or collectively. Therefore, the feeling is that their use defensively in order to prevent the spread of war to the rest of the oil region would, regardless of how this will be interpreted by certain regional and international parties, contribute to checking the spread of the flames of war to other areas that live in a state of prosperity from which the whole world benefits as much as the peoples of the area itself.

It is worth noting that this sense of relief in the region's economic circles as a result of this defensive development, which involves no encroachment on national sovereignty, was reflected on the entire economic sector as well as on the public psychological climate. In brief, the question being asked is: is it better for the area and the world to have this defensive means as a precautionary measure or let the war spread so as to consume all the achievements of the region and render the Gulf the target of international military interventions under the pretext of protecting the oil?

Q80: 4801

TUNISIA

MEAL: ADDRESS ON END OF PARLIAMENTARY YEAR PUBLISHED

Topic: LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 30 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] Yesterday morning the National Assembly held a plenary meeting at the Bardo palace, under the presidency of Dr Sadok Mokaddem, president of the assembly, and in the presence of the members of the government headed by the prime minister, Mohamed Mzali.

At the beginning of the meeting the assembly discussed a project for a complementary finance bill for 1980.

It appears from the report relating to the project of the proposed bill that the ordinary state revenue would show an increase in a supplementary amount of 14 million dinars. The ordinary revenue will thus rise from 751.6 million dinars to 765.6 million dinars. This increase will be derived from direct taxes in an amount of 4 million dinars and from oil revenues in an amount of 10 million dinars. This project also proposes an increase of 12.4 million dinars for the enclosed budgets.

This increase will derive from the budget of the PTT (Posts and Telecommunications) (1.1 million, dinars) and of the RTT (Tunisian Radio and Television) budget (300,000 dinars).

This supplementary revenue will make it possible to cover the increase registered for expenses which will be allocated to justice (300,000 dinars), foreign affairs (850,00 dinars), to interior (3.8 million dinars). National education (2.55 million dinars), agriculture (500,000 dinars), and finances (6 million dinars).

Seven deputies said a few words to discuss this bill. The interventions referred to the interest of the public debt, strengthening of public savings, improvement in the country's security, consolidation of Tunisia's representation abroad as well as questions of interest to national education and agriculture.

The first to reply to these interventions, Manœur Moalla, planning and finance minister, stated that the additional budget amounts to 14 million dinars, of which 10 million were necessary due to the exceptional circumstances which the country has lived through at the beginning of this year which were impossible to foresee at the time of the preparation of the state budget for 1980. These 10 million dinars, added the minister, will permit, in an amount of 6 million dinars, to reinforce the means for the security of the country and 4 million dinars to make up the deficit resulting from the increase in the interest of the credits incurred on the international financial market.

In relation to these credits Moalla explained that they cover two categories. Some bear a constant interest, the others a variable interest. The interest rates of the latter credit category which are supplied by the international financial institutions, added the minister, vary according to the economic situation and could reach, as was the case a short time ago, a rate of 18 percent. However, specified the minister, Tunisia only has recourse to this category of credits as an exception.

Then replying to a deputy who had raised the question of the need to proceed with fiscal policy reform, the minister underlined that this reform appears at this time on the first plan of the priorities defined by the government. It will be entered in the sixth plan, specified Moalla, who announced the intention of the government to proceed with progressive reforms in the framework of the next Finance bill for 1981.

The minister indicated that strengthening of national savings will also be considered as one of the priorities of the next plan. The government, he added, intends to create adequate structures and take all necessary steps, in the framework of financial reforms, to encourage savings in public administration as well as in enterprises and individuals.

Following Moalla, Mohamed Frei Chedli, on his part, replied to the interventions inherent to the national education sector, on the subject of using foreign co-operators in secondary education, and gave some figures on the efforts made in Tunisia since independence—on the process of "Tunisification" of the teaching body.

It appears from these figures that the number of Tunisian professors increased from 581 in 1955 to 10,900 in 1979, while foreign teachers rose from 611 to 640 in the same period. This evolution he pointed out, demonstrates that foreign teachers who represented 52 percent of the teaching body in 1955, represented only 5 percent in 1979. This small number of foreign teachers, he added, is still necessary as we do not have as yet a sufficient number of Tunisian teachers in the scientific and technical subjects.

Recalling a question on the debts registered in the administration of some teaching establishments, Préi Chedli underlined that these debts result from many factors, especially in increased cost of living and location of the stores.

Reinforcing Security Services

Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali spoke next and was happy to note the interest shown by the deputies in the field of security and reinforcement of the nuclei and security agents. The prime minister underlined that the level of recruitment of the security cadres falls in with the earnest desire of the state to remedy the present situation and to equip the security service with superior cadres capable of assuring the duties of command and organization in this domain.

Mohamed Mzali observed that in this context reinforcing the security service means not only to increase the means for the defense of the country against attacks from the outside, but also to insure the security of the citizens internally. It is also necessary to allow the country to face the changes which pervade the social and moral order in many of the countries, and especially in the Western countries due to the escalation of violence. He indicated that the government is bound to equip the security services with all the cadres they need to overcome their difficulties and to carry out their mission to the best of their ability.

The prime minister underlined in this context the need to improve the situation of the agents detailed to frontier posts, recalling that an inter-ministerial committee had examined this question and studied the measures to be taken to bring up the moral and material level of this category of agents, and especially the means needed to provide them with decent lodgings.

As regards the article concerned with the upgrading of Tunisia's diplomatic representations abroad, Mohamed Mzali stated that this measure coincides with the Supreme Combatant's, president Habib Bourghiba, absorption with the reinforcement of Tunisia's presence abroad, a presence which actually engenders a very appreciable economic return.

On this subject he underlined the need to develop Tunisia's relations and cooperation with various other countries and to prospect unceasingly for new markets to sell Tunisian products. He especially recommended that the bonds of cooperation with the African countries, as well as with all the brotherly and friendly countries, should be strengthened.

On this subject the prime minister pointed out the high level and competence of the cadre attached to the Tunisian embassies and consulates abroad.

The vote was called and the bill was passed.

The assembly then examined the bill connected with the adoption of the social security convention concluded between the Tunisian republic and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

This bill refers to the regulations regarding citizens' rights in both countries in the matter of social security.

The convention, subject of this bill, foresees the compliance of the citizen to the bond of work in one or the other of the two countries, as well as the accumulation of the periods relative to the right connected with insurance.

After the unanimous adoption of this bill, without discussion, the assembly examined the bill relating to the 1978 ratification of the protocol connected with the 1973 international convention on the prevention of pollution originating from ships.

After the reading of the report relating to this bill, deputy Mokhtar Tebourbi raised the question of the removal of a ship which had foundered on the beach of Bizerte quite a while back, and was proving to be exceedingly dangerous.

In his reply, Sadok Ben Jmaa, minister of transports and communications indicated that the competent authorities had taken all necessary precautions to avoid the dangers that can arise due to the immobilization of this ship in the proximity of the coast. He also indicated that his department will work very hard in the future to improve the repairs of ship breakdowns.

Reorganization of BCT (Central Bank of Tunisia)

This bill was adopted unanimously by the assembly, who, later on, began to review the bill relating to the amendment of the law dated 19 September 1958, bearing on the creation and organization of the BCT.

It appears from the report relating to this bill that the financial organization of the BCT is not conforming any longer, after having been founded more than 22 years ago, with the present economic and social data of the country.

This bill proposes the reorganization of BCT through the creation of the office of vice governors and one secretary general and abolishing the office of director general.

Many deputies succeeded each other and accentuated the reasons which brought some of the deputies to express their reservations when this bill was discussed by the commission of political affairs and the commission for finance and the plan. This attitude is the result, according to deputy Mohamed Yaalaoui, of the ambiguity of the amended articles which define the function of vice governor of the BCT.

Replying to the intervention of the deputies, Mohamed Mzali thanked all those who participated in the discussion of the bill bearing on the amendment of the 1958 bill relating to the Central Bank, for their circumspection and their desire to make it possible for this institution to fill its important mission under the best conditions possible.

He especially specified: "Our common conviction is that the central bank constitutes one of the pillars of Tunisian sovereignty and the foundation of the national economy. By the creation of this institution Tunisia has freed itself from economic and financial dependence. We are anxious to do everything possible for the bank to keep its role and the prerogatives which were assigned to it by the chief of state, that is to say independence, stability and the positive contribution to economic dynamism and to the reinforcement of national development. And this, particularly, in the present stage where Tunisia finds itself on the threshold of a new national development plan. A plan which we want, for a definite take-off. "

Mzali added that the government is anxious to restructure this important institution in order that it may fully assume its mission.

BCT: The Governor's Prerogatives Are Intact

The prime minister made it known that this bill does not interfere in any way with the power and prerogatives of the governor of the bank. The objective of this amendment is being the reinforcement of the means for action by this institution and the consolidation of the powers of the governor which will assist him in his administrative functions.

Mzali was quite astonished by this unjustified apprehension since the governor enjoys the guarantees and prerogatives set forth by the law of 1958.

The prime minister suggested that an amendment be added to the first paragraph of the new article 14 which should read as follows: "The governor of the bank is assisted by two vice governors and one secretary general, who is directly under his authority, and charged with keeping watch permanently over the smooth running of all the departments of the central bank.

The governor confers on his assistants the prerogative and the power which make it possible for them to fulfill their mission—the governor defines the prerogatives of the secretary general".

Mzali also proposed that article 15 should read as follows: "the two vice governors are nominated by decree as proposed by the prime minister and upon the decision of the governor."

The National Assembly then adopted the bill unanimously.

Before closing the meeting the assembly heard Mohamed Mzali, who on the occasion of the closing of the 1979-1980 parliamentary session, delivered an address in which he declared:

"Upon the closure of the present parliamentary year, I wish to express, in my name, as well as that of all my colleagues, my most heartfelt thanks and warmest congratulations for the diligence you have put forth and for the ideas, the analyses and the positive criticism which you have contributed to the dynamism of parliamentary life and assumed your role in Tunisian legislation."

The prime minister recorded with satisfaction the harmony which exists between the National Assembly and the government, exalting the mutual confidence which has been established between the legislative and executive powers.

"When I had the honor of reading the declaration of the government before the National Assembly, he added, I had announced that a certain number of measures and actions were to be undertaken, and perhaps you will not forget that we have started to examine quite a few of them, and we plan to continue this work during the coming weeks. I hope we will have the occasion to continue this dialog frequently, and to discuss together the important questions of the hour and of our fundamental options, especially those that concern the economy, education, cultural and social policies.

We are resolved to work steadily in order to concretize our aspirations which are those of the Supreme Combatant, for the dignity and progress of the Tunisian people, with your collaboration and the living forces of the nation, being anxious to keep a sense of measure but at the same time with quickness of execution. It is for this reason that we go forward and manifest imagination and daring to fight against routine and anachronic traditions, doing this we will give ourselves the means to act on the issues rather than submit to them. This can be done if we conjugate our efforts and each one of us considers himself responsible."

A Call to All Tunisians.

Mohamed Mzali declared further that doubt and scepticism engender stagnation and despair. "I wish, he said, that every Tunisian man and woman participate in this march and that all Tunisians devote themselves to the general interest in such a way that there would not be one person with an attitude of wait-and-see to watch our blunders." In this connection the prime minister launched an appeal to all Tunisians to participate by all possible means, as well as by their words, their action and reflection in the re-organization of the situation until our country can rise to the highest degree of material and moral prosperity." "I invite you to contribute through all forms of participation to the realization of this objective as well as to impregnate yourself and your surroundings with the hope, action generator, and our hope to see Tunisia rise to the level of the sacrifices subscribed by its martyrs and the Supreme Combatant. For this we must work in a complementary and osmose spirit, and with devotion and abnegation which our Supreme Combatant has taught us."

Mohamed Mzali concluded by wishing the members of the national assembly a happy holiday.

Before declaring that the parliamentary session was closed Sadok Mokaddem made a speech in which he thanked the prime minister for the few words he directed to the deputies of the national assembly specifying that the 44 plenary meetings which were held during the session just concluded, as well as the numerous committee meetings permitted the national assembly to examine many bills, to study the various aspects of government policy and to follow governmental action closely. The parliamentary year which is coming to an end, added Dr Mokaddem offered us the opportunity to have a dialogue with the government and I am taking this occasion to congratulate the prime minister for the cooperation which exists between the government and the national assembly, a cooperation which bears the best witness to the success of the Bourguibian regime.

In addition the president of the national assembly thanked the information agencies for their splendid coverage of the parliamentary proceedings, and in conclusion he underlined the Supreme Combatant's interest in the national assembly and his desire to follow the debates...

Finally, he offered the congratulations of the deputies to the chief of state on his 77th birthday.

Dr Mokaddem then declared the 1979-1980 parliamentary session closed.

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

HOUSE ARREST--Brahim Hayder, a leading figure of the Popular Unity Movement (MUP) in Tunisia, is under house arrest in Jendouba, his hometown in north-west Tunisia, according to acquaintances. Hayder was forced to return to Jendouba on Friday, 26 September. He was given no reasons for the action. In a communique the Socialist Democrat Movement said it was "surprised" at the action "since it is in contrast to the spirit of openness prevailing in the government." [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Sep 80 p 8]

CSO: 4400

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

CABINET APPROVES PRESS, PUBLICATIONS DRAFT LAW

Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 20 Sep 80 p 27

[Text] The United Arab Emirates cabinet approved on Monday 15 September a new Press and Publication Law guaranteeing freedom of expression in the country.

The draft law, containing 109 articles was approved by the cabinet in its weekly session. It is aimed at bringing the country's journalism at par with the Arab and international standards. It provides for more "responsible freedom" for the journalists and, at the same time gives the government a legal framework for reasonable control over the affairs of the Press in the country.

The law also stipulates the basic requirements of the editors and reporters working for newspapers and news agencies.

According to the new law, the chief editor will be responsible for whatever appears in the newspaper. The law stipulates that he should be a national with a high educational qualification, besides professional experience. The law, however, provides clauses for protecting those editors and writers who do not possess proper professional qualifications.

The new law guarantees newsmen access to sources of information and freedom of expression within reasonable limits. But it strictly prohibits writings which may offend Islam, incite people against the government or tend to serve foreign interests which are contradictory to the national cause.

The law also streamlines the censor machinery to ensure that no publication, film or literary work violates the law or undermines public interest.

The new law also guarantees freedom of expression to the correspondents of the foreign newspapers and press agencies.

NEW PHASE OF PETROLEUM EXPLORATION LAUNCHED

Dubai AL-BAYAN in Arabic 17 Aug 80 p 3

[Interview with Kamal Mu'ammur, Deputy Director of the Exploration and Production Department of ADNOC; date and place not given]

[Text] One of the significant realities of the petroleum industry is that daily production from fields that have been discovered means a decline in the known or confirmed reserves. If this decline is not countered by new oil discoveries, there would be a trend towards depletion of the oil resources. In other words, the life of the oil fortune would be shortened.

Many of the oil producing countries have actually begun to suffer from the trend towards depletion of their oil resources, and from the fact that they are being converted from oil exporting countries to oil importing countries, now that their oil wells have aged and exploration operations have failed to reveal any new, young fields.

During the first inquiry we conducted yesterday with the director of the Exploration and Production Department of the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, ADNOC, a splendid fact emerged in front of us. We record it here with much appreciation and pride. As a result of the exploration efforts in 1979, for example, the quantities of oil that have been discovered, that is, the quantities that have been added to the oil reserves are equal to eight times the quantities of oil that have actually been produced during the same year. Naturally, we only take into consideration approximately 30 percent of the reserves or discovered supply, on the basis of the fact that this is what can actually be produced from any known reserve by the modern technological means which petroleum technology has so far achieved.

We had this radiant fact in mind when we met with Kamal Mu'ammur, deputy director of the Exploration and Production Department of ADNOC. We began to look for the details: how did we achieve this upswing in our oil supply? From which fields did this supply or this new reserve come?

Kamal Mu'ammār said, "We can talk in general terms, without referring to the discoveries of one year or one area. Let us begin with the offshore areas."

New Offshore Fields

Kamal Mu'ammār opened his files, and started a review of facts and figures.

The Satrah Field was discovered in 1975 after ADNOC had asked the Adanah Company to drill in that location. Preliminary studies affirm that the supply of that field is not less than 700 million barrels. Drilling operations have been completed this year to determine the area of the field and the volume of the reserve. The results have been good indeed.

The (Hayr Dalama) field used to be considered a natural gas field, not an oil field. But a short period after a well was dug in al-Makbas, oil was found in quantities that were not inconsiderable. The (Hayr Dalama) field thus acquired more importance. At the present time tests and studies are being carried out on the second well.

The Sarnin Field: We expect the supply of this new field to be about 50 million barrels in addition to large quantities of gas.

The Dalama field: We expect that the supply there will come to 80 million barrels, in addition to large quantities of gas.

Vertical Expansion

The new development in exploration operations is that these operations are no longer confined to horizontal expansion; rather, vertical expansion operations have begun. This means that exploration operations have now begun under the layers that are known to be producing at present. This came after the development of seismic survey operations, and after the drills became capable of drilling deeper under the surface of the earth. This is what we have actually begun in the offshore field of Umm al-Shayf.

[Question] The deep drilling that you have done in Umm al-Shayf field has confirmed that the cap rock which you reached at a depth of 15,000 feet promises a huge return. Are you making plans for further study of this underground stratum?

Exploring the Deeper Strata

[Answer] Cap rock strata in fact exist in most of our offshore and onshore fields. We recently began drilling to reach the cap rock in the offshore field of Zakim. Preparations are also being made at present to drill an exploratory well in the onshore field of Buhasa. In addition, we have a drilling program to determine the location of the cap rock in the Umm al-Shayf field.

[Question] Is there something in particular that you expect as a result of this deep drilling that you are doing to reach the cap rock in existing and previously discovered wells?

[Answer] Experience has taught us not to be overly optimistic. But regarding the subject of deep drilling to discover what lies hidden in the deep layers of this earth, what we have succeeded in discovering with regard to the cap rock of the Umm al-Shayf field encourages us to continue in this direction and promises to give us a major return. But exploration operations are never free of the spirit of adventure. Who knows what lies hidden for us in these depths?

Seismic Surveying Operations

[Question] What about the seismic surveying activity in the onshore areas.

[Answer] Seismic surveying operations in onshore areas began in 1977. During that year the area southeast of Abu Dhabi between the Shah field and the borders of Oman was surveyed. We were able to survey 1,200 kilometers.

In 1978, we completed the survey in the same area, in addition to the area located north of the Buhasa field. We were able to survey 13,000 kilometers.

In 1979, we carried out complementary surveying operations in the area of (Jurn Yafur) and [in the area] north of Sahal field. The length [sic] amounted to 240 kilometers.

Preparations are now underway for a seismic survey that is very advanced in nature to determine the locations of (cap rocks?) in various areas such as al-Ruways (south of the area where the industrial projects are currently being built) and in the areas of al-Ramithah and Jurn Nafur where limited quantities of oil have been found.

[Question] Do you mean that we now have new oil fields with these names: al-Ruways, al-Ramithah and Jurn Nafur?

[Answer] So far, testing activities for these fields have not been completed, and the results have not been studied in a decisive manner. But the drilling that has been done so far promises a good return. The areas where these fields are located will be subjected to advanced seismic surveying operations.

[Question] Have the seismic surveying operations and the exploratory drilling operations in the onshore areas produced any oil discoveries other than what we mentioned?

[Answer] Of course there have been numerous discoveries. The al-Qaswirah field and the Mandar field southeast of Abu Dhabi have been discovered. Drilling will be resumed this year to determine the quantities of oil in these two fields. However, preliminary estimates indicate that the supply in al-Qaswirah field amounts to 950 million barrels, and that it is 50 million barrels in the Mandar field.

Exploratory drilling of the lower strata that had been previously surveyed in the fields of Buhasa and Sahal has been completed. The presence of oil in these strata has actually been confirmed. The supply of oil in the lower strata in the Buhasa Field is expected to be approximately 800 million barrels; in the Sahal field, it is expected to be 200 million barrels.

In the area of deep drilling, we drilled a deep well to reach the strata of the Jurassic epoch in the Bab field--the first field that was discovered in onshore areas. We were convinced of the existence of large quantities of gas in that location. However, that gas contained a large percentage of sulfur.

Talking about exploration implies the pleasure of giving, especially in an age during which the world is anxiously looking for oil everywhere. This is to prolong the life of civilization and humanity at a time when oil has become dear and expensive and is necessary for scores of thousands of modern industries. [End of answer]

This interview would not be complete without our shedding some light on the courageous, pioneering step carried out by the ADNOC, the government's national petroleum agency. The Executive Council of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi issued a decision to grant the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company (ADNOC) special concession areas where it can work independently without a foreign partner.

ADNOC and the New Concession

The deputy director of the Exploration and Production Department in ADNOC said, "Companies doing business in Abu Dhabi did give up parts of their concession areas in accordance with agreements concluded between them and the government. Concession areas given up which were not subject to exploratory operations amounted to approximately 60 percent of the total area of Abu Dhabi, including land and sea. Accordingly, ADNOC gave these areas its special attention.

[Question] Practically speaking, what do you mean by special attention?

[Answer] This means that we cannot neglect those areas that were given up by the operating companies, or accept results to the effect that the existence of oil there is not possible. Special attention means evaluating

and study of reviewing all the previous results of seismic surveying operations and exploratory drilling. This is what ADNOC has actually done.

Question: When did the Executive Council make its decision to grant the concession to ADNOC to prospect for oil?

Answer: The decision of the Executive Council was issued on 7 April 1980. The decision stipulated that only ADNOC be given the right to prospect for hydrocarbons in specific parts of the areas given up [by the concessionaire].

Question: What is the area of these parts?

Answer: Approximately 91 percent of the total onshore and offshore hydrocarbon fields in Abu Dhabi, specifically 34,000 square kilometers. This amount has carried out in these regions all the operations provided for in the contract number 2 for 1971.

A map attached to this interview (see map at end) indicates the areas of prospecting in detail. We notice from this map that the offshore fields of Abu Dhabi comprise total 3,000 square kilometers, whereas the onshore fields total 76,000 square kilometers.

Question: What has been done?

Answer: What about the work completed after the decision of the Executive Council was made and ADNOC obtained the concession.

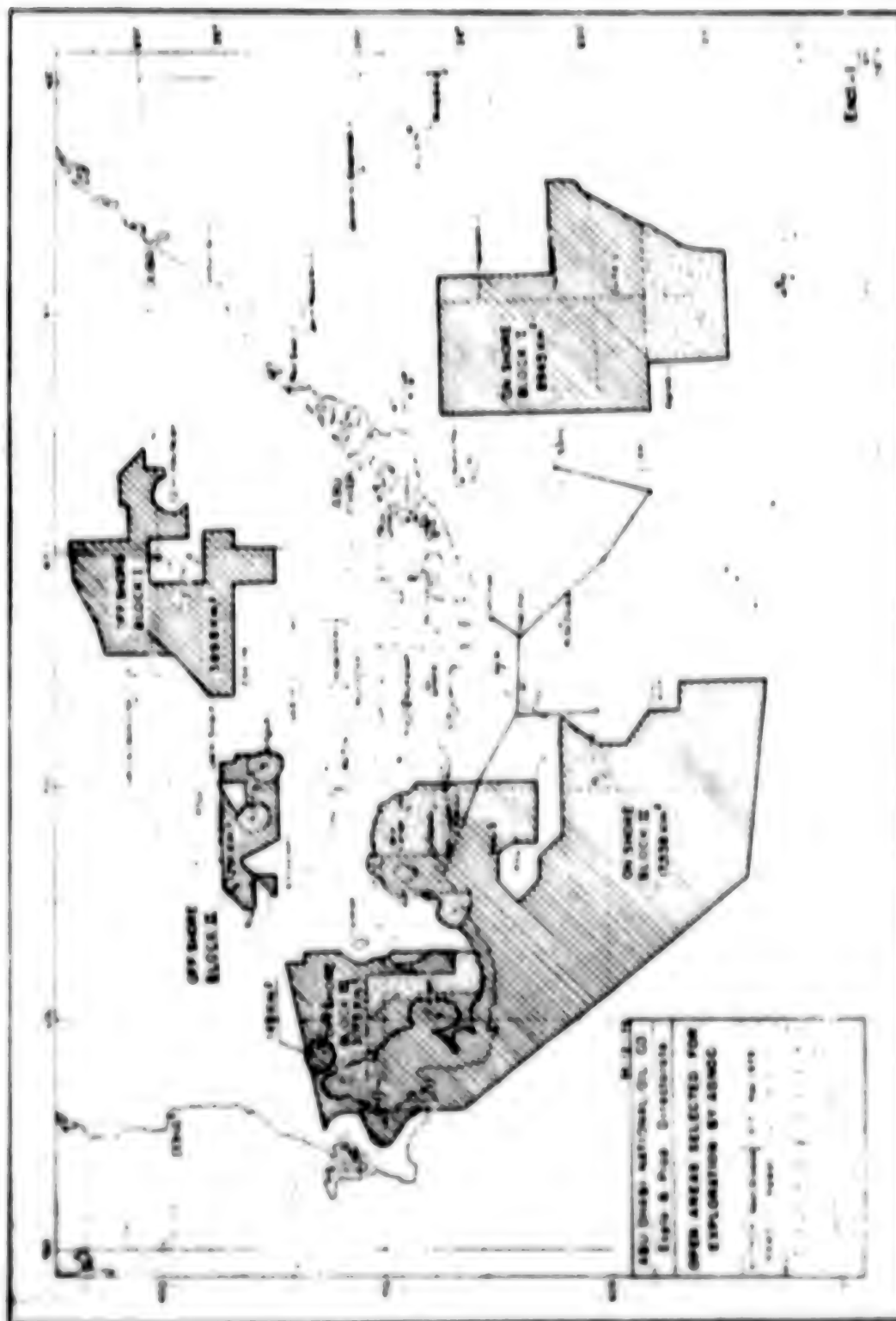
Answer: The first task was to carry out a magnetic survey from Abu Dhabi to the coast of Abu Dhabi to determine the makeup of the crust of the surface of Abu Dhabi. There is a special airplane equipped for flights to complete the magnetic survey operations. This work is also currently being evaluated. The magnetic and seismic surveys for these regions are also being carried out to identify those areas where oil deposits can possibly be found.

Question: What is happening at present? But what about the future?

Answer: We are carrying out a seismic survey of offshore block 1 and block 2 to determine their rock formation, and to study their geology, and to carry out drilling. We expect to carry out the seismic survey in the next weeks that are to be completed by the company's board of directors. The work has been approved by the company's board of directors. The work is very slow that are to be made in our offshore fields. This is of great

And (over):

This interview on the offshore and onshore exploration activities in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi has been scrutinized and reviewed by ADNOC officials. This means that it has the characteristics of an accurate scientific investigation, not just a press inquiry. Accordingly, it carries information on the subject of explorations in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, published for the first time.



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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

ABU DHABI'S OIL EXPORTS DECLINE

Dubai Al-BAYAN in Arabic 17 Aug 80 p 2

[Article: "14 Percent Decline in Abu Dhabi's Oil Exports; 39.2 Million Barrels Were Exported Last July; Japan Is Chief Importer of Emirates' Oil"]

[Text: Abu Dhabi's crude oil exports last July declined by 14.14 percent from what they were in the same period last year.

This information was mentioned in statistics sent yesterday by the Petroleum Directorate in Abu Dhabi to the Ministry of Oil and Mineral Resources.

Total oil exports from the four ports of export--Jabal al-Zannah, Das, Mahara and Abu al-Bakrah--amounted to 39.2 million barrels, while the volume of exports in July of 1979 was 45.8 million barrels.

According to the exporting companies, the ADCO Company was in first place. Its total exports last month amounted to 22.5 million barrels, compared with 26.8 million barrels for the same period last year.

It was followed by the NPSA Operating Company, which came in second, with a volume of exports that amounted to 14.6 million barrels, compared with 15.9 million barrels for the same period in 1979.

The Fadhali Abu al-Bakrah Company came in third place. Its exports amounted to 1.9 million barrels, compared with 2.4 million barrels for the same period in 1979.

Finally, the ABE Company, whose total exports amounted to half a million barrels, compared with 700,000 barrels in July of last year.

Geographic Distribution

According to geographic distribution Japan maintained its lead over the countries importing oil last month. Exports to it came to a total of 14.6 million barrels.

France came in second place with total exports to it amounting to 4.4 million barrels.

The United States came third with total exports to it amounting to 3.1 million barrels.

Then came West Germany; total exports to it amounted to 2.7 million barrels.

Then came New Zealand; total exports to it amounted to 2.6 million barrels.

Then came the Netherlands: 2.4 million barrels.

Then the United Kingdom: 1.9 million barrels.

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CSO: 4802

SUBSIDIES USED TO FIGHT INFLATED FOOD PRICES

Dubai AL-BAYAN in Arabic 15 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by 'Ali Lashin: "High Prices Fought in Emirates by Subsidizing Food; Sugar Sold in Markets at Three Times the Price Charged by Municipalities to Those on Limited Income; Rice and Flour Sold 50 to 90 Percent Over Subsidized Prices"]

[Text] The price of a 50 kilogram bag of flour is about 65 dirhams in the free market. A 90 kilogram bag of rice is sold for 300 dirhams, while a 50 kilogram bag of sugar is sold for a price that is between 160 and 170 dirhams. These goods are sold in the same packages at the municipality's distribution centers which distribute subsidized goods at the following prices:

A bag of flour is sold for 35 dirhams.
A bag of sugar is sold for 45 dirhams.
A bag of rice is sold for 200 dirhams.

When we compare these prices, we find that the difference between them is vast. Free market prices exceed the subsidized prices by about 90 percent in the case of flour; by about 50 percent in the case of rice; and by as much as 300 percent in the case of sugar.

Why did the price of sugar reach this high a level?

In an attempt to answer this question the food supply official in the municipality of Dubai, Ibrahim 'Abdallah made a special statement to AL-BAYAN in which he said [the following]:

"Flour and rice are available at the distribution centers affiliated with us. We distribute every month about 2,000 bags of the first commodity and about 5,000 bags of the second.

"But we have only received 2,550 bags of sugar since we began implementing the United Emirates' subsidy policy on 14/8/1979. We distributed this quantity as soon as we received it, and since then we have not received any additional quantities. That is the reason for the insane increase in the price of sugar."

He added, "subsidizing a certain commodity and having it available at the distribution centers affiliated with the municipalities does undoubtedly help reduce its cost in the free market.

"But the opposite happens when that commodity is not available. Merchants control the market and force [us to pay] the prices they like and they seek."

Along the same lines another source in the municipality of Dubai said, "Experience has proven that the subsidy policy is the most successful method for fighting high prices. Before we put the subsidy into practice throughout the Emirates, we did practice it in this emirate with regard to rice whose price had risen to 300 dirhams per 90 kilogram bag in the free market. We reduced its price through subsidies to 175 dirhams. This was between 1974 and 1976. At the end of last year the price of rice in the free market declined and fell to 5 dirhams below the subsidy price. The municipality then decided to remove the rice subsidy which was then distributed by the Emirates Corporation for Foods. The total subsidy that had been earmarked for rice was 90 million dirhams. In this year's budget, however, that subsidy does not exceed 50 million dirhams."

Ibrahim 'Abdallah went on to say, "To put into practice the government's slogan of delivering the service to those who deserve it wherever they may be, the municipality of Dubai opened four centers for the distribution of subsidized goods in Dayrah, al-Sutwah, al-Rashidiyah and Hatta. Citizens of approximately 12,000 families are benefiting from these centers. Each family has a ration card according to which it gets the subsidized goods that are due to it according to the following regulations:

From one to three individuals: one bag of flour and one bag of rice every 4 months.

From four individuals to eight individuals: one bag of flour and one bag of rice every 2 months.

From 9 to 15 individuals: one bag of flour and one bag of rice every month.

A family of 16 persons receives three bags of rice and three bags of flour every 2 months.

Families that have more than 16 persons receive two bags of each kind every month.

After this quick review of a few aspects of the policy of subsidizing basic goods, it is the opinion of AL-BAYAN that a number of other food goods be introduced under the subsidy umbrella to reduce the burden of the cost of living on the citizens. Chief among these goods are sugar, milk, shortening and soap. The prices of these goods are very high in the market, and this constitutes a concrete burden on those who live on limited incomes in the country.

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